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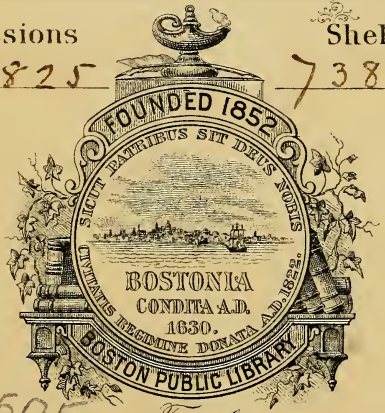

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WONDERS

OF THE

INVISIBLE WORLD:

Or, The Wonders of the

Invisible World,

Display'd in Five Parts.

Part I. An Account of the Sufferings of *Margaret Rule*, Written by the Reverend Mr. *C. M.*

P. II. Several Letters to the Author, *&c.* And his Reply relating to Witchcraft.

P. III. The Differences between the Inhabitants of *Salem* Village, and Mr. *Parris* their Miniſter, in *New-England.*

P. IV. Letters of a Gentleman unintereſted, Endeavouring to prove the received Opinions about Witchcraft to be Orthodox. With ſhort Eſſays to their Anſwers.

P. V. A ſhort Hiſtorical Accout of Matters of Fact in that Affair.

To which is added, A Poſtſcript relating to a Book intitled, *The Life of Sir* WILLIAM PHIPS.

Collected by *Robert Calef*, Merchant, of *Boſton* in *New-England.*

Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

LONDON:

Printed for *Nath. Hillar*, at the *Princes-Arms*, in *Leaden-Hall-ſtreet*, over againſt St. *Mary-Ax*, and *Joſeph Collyer*, at the *Golden-Bible*, on *London-Bridge.* 1700.

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The Epiſtle to the READER,

And more eſpecially to the Noble *Bereans* of this *Age*, wherever Reſiding.

Gentlemen,

YOU that are freed from the Slavery of a corrupt Education; and that in ſpite of human Precepts, Examples and Preſidents, can hearken to the Dictates of Scripture and Reaſon:

For your ſakes I am content, that theſe Collections of mine, as alſo my Sentiments ſhould be expoſed to publick view; In hopes that having well conſidered, and compared them with Scripture, you will ſee reaſon, as I do, to queſtion a belief ſo prevalent (as that here treated of) as alſo the practice flowing from thence; they ſtanding as nearly connext as cauſe and effect; it being found wholly impracticable, to extirpate the latter without firſt curing the former.

And if the Buffoon or Satyrical will be exerciſing their Talents, or if the Biggots wilfully and blindly reject the Teſtimonies of their own Reaſon, and more ſure word, it is no more than what I expected from them.

But you Gentlemen, I doubt not are willing to Diſtinguiſh between Truth and Error. and if this may be any furtherance to you herein, I ſhall not miſs my Aim.

But if you find the contrary, and that my belief herein is any way Heterodox, I ſhall be thankful for the Information to any Learned or Reverend *Perſon, or others, that ſhall take that pains to inform me better by Scripture, or ſound Reaſon, which is what I have been long ſeeking for in this Country* in vain.

In a time when not only England *in particular, but almoſt all* Europe *had been labouring againſt the Uſurpations of Tyranny and Slavery,* The Engliſh, America, *has not been behind in a ſhare in the Common calamities; more eſpecially* New-England, *has met not only with ſuch calamities as are common to the reſt, but with ſeveral aggravations enhanſing ſuch Afflictions, by the Devaſtations and Cruelties of the Barbarous* Indians *in their* Eaſtern *borders,* &c.

But this is not all, they have been harraſt (on many accounts) by a more dreadful Enemy, as will herein appear to the conſiderate.

P. 66. Were it as we are told in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, that the Devils were walking about our Strees with lengthned Chains making a dreadful noiſe in our Ears, and Brimſtone, even without a Metaphor, was making a horrid and a helliſh ſtench in our Noſtrils.

P. 49. And that the Devil exhibiting himſelf ordinarily as a black-Man, had decoy'd a fearful knot of Proud, Froward, Ignorant, Envious and Malitious Creatures, to liſt themſelves in his horrid Service, by entring their Names in a Book tendered unto them; and that they have had their Meetings and Sacraments, and aſſociated themſelves to deſtroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in theſe parts of the World; having each of them their Spectres, or Devils Commiſſionated by them, and

representing of them to be the Engines of their Malice, by these wicked Spectres, seizing poor People about the Country, with various and bloody Torments. And of those evidently preternatural Torments some to have died. And that they have bewitched some even so far, as to make them self destroyers, and others in many Towns, here and there languish'd under their Evil hands. The People thus Afflicted miserably scratch'd and bitten; and that the same Invisible Furies did stick Pins in them, and scal'd them, distort and disjoint them, with a Thousand other Plagues; and sometimes drag them out of their Chambers, and carry them over Trees, and Hills Miles together, many of them being tempted to Sign the Devils Laws.

P. 7. *Those furies whereof several have killed more People perhaps than would serve to make a Village. If this be the true state of the Afflictions of this Country, it is very deplorable, and beyond all other outward Calamities miserable.*

But if on the other side, the Matter be as others do understand it, That the Devil has been too hard for us by his Temptations, Signs, and lying Wonders, with the help of pernicious notions, formerly imbibed and professed; together with the Accusations of a parcel of possessed, distracted, or lying Wenches, accusing their Innocent Neighbours, pretending they see their Spectres (i. e.) Devils in their likeness Afflicting of them, and that God in righteous Judgment (after Men had ascribed his Power to Witches, of Commissionating Devils to do these things) may have given them over to strong delusions to believe lyes, &c *And to let loose the Devils of Envy, Hatred, Pride, Cruelty, and Malice against each other; yet still disguised under the Mask of Zeal for God, and left them to the branding one another with the odious Name of Witch; and upon the Accusation of those above mentioned, Brother to Accuse and Prosecute Brother, Children their Parents, Pastors and Teachers their immediate Flock unto death; Shepherds becoming Wolves, Wise Men Infatuated; People hau'ed to Prisons, with a bloody noise pursuing to, and insulting over, the (true) Sufferers at Execution, while some are fleeing from that call'd Justice, Justice it self fleeing before such Accusations, when once it did but begin to refrain further proceedings; and to question such Practises, some making their Escape out of Prisons, rather than by an obstinate Defence of their Innocency, to run so apparent hazard of their Lives; Estates seized, Families of Children and others left to the Mercy of the Wilderness (not to mention here the Numbers prescribed, dead in Prisons, or Executed,* &c.)

All which Tragedies, tho begun in one Town, or rather by one Parish, has Plague-like spread more than through that Country. And by its Eccho giving a brand of Infamy to this whole Country throughout the World.

If this were the Miserable case of this Country in the time thereof, and that the Devil had so far prevailed upon us in our Sentiments and Actions, as to draw us from so much as looking into the Scriptures for our guidance in these pretended Intricacies, leading us to a trusting in blind guides, such as the corrupt practices of some other Countries, or the bloody Experiments of Bodin,

and

and such other Authors. Then tho our Case be most miserable, yet it must be said of New-England, *Thou hast destroyed thy self, and brought this great st of Miseries upon thee.*

And now whether the Witches (such as have made a compact by Explicit Covenant with the Devil, having thereby obtained a power to Commissionate him) have been the cause of our miseries.

Or whether a Zeal governed by blindness and passion, and led by president, has not herein precipitated us into far greater wickedness (if not Witchcrafts) than any have been yet proved against those that suffered.

To be able to distinguish aright in this matter, to which of these two to refer our Miseries is the present Work. As to the former, I know of no sober Man, much less Reverend Christian, that being ask'd dares affirm and abide by it, that Witches have that power; viz. *to Commissionate Devils to kill and destroy. And as to the latter, it were well if there were not too much of truth in it, which remains to be demonstrated.*

But here it will be said, what need of Raking in the Coals that lay buried in Oblivion. We cannot recall those to Life again that have suffered, supposing it were unjustly; it tends but to the exposing the Actors, as if they had proceeded irregularly.

Truly I take this to be just as the Devil would have it, so much to fear disobliging men, as not to endeavour to detect his Wiles, that so he may the sooner, and with the greater Advantages set the same on foot again (either here or else where) so dragging us through the Pond twice by the same Cat. And if Reports do not (herein) deceive us, much the same has been acting this present Year in Scotland. *And what Kingdom or Country is it, that has not had their bloody fits and turns at it. And if this is such a catching disease, and so universal, I presume I need make no Apology for my Endeavours to prevent, as far as in my power, any more such bloody Victims or Sacrifices; tho indeed I had rather any other would have undertaken so offensive, tho necessary a task; yet all things weighed, I had rather thus Expose my self to Censure, than that it should be wholly omitted. Were the notions in question, innocent and harmless, respecting the Glory of God, and well being of Men, I should not have engaged in them, but finding them in my esteem, so intollerably destructive of both. This together with my being by Warrant called before the Justices, in my own Just Vindication, I took it to be a call from God, to my Power, to Vindicate his Truths, against the* Pagan *and* Popish *Assertions, which are so prevalent; for tho Christians in general do own the Scriptures to be their only Rule of Faith and Doctrine, yet these Notions will tell us, that the Scriptures have not sufficiently, nor at all described the crime of Witchcraft, whereby the culpable might be detected, tho it be positive in the Command to punish it by Death; hence the World has been from time to time perplext in the prosecution of the several Diabolical mediums of Heathenish and Popish Invention, to detect an Imaginary Crime (not but that there are Witches, such as the Law of God de-*

describes) which has produced a deluge of Blood; hereby rendering the Commands of God not only void but dangerous.

So also they own Gods Providence and Government of the World, and that Tempests and Storms, Afflictions and Diseases are of his sending; yet these Notions tell us, that the Devil has the power of all these, and can perform them when commission'd by a Witch thereto, and that he has a power at the Witches call to act and do, without and against the course of Nature, and all natural causes, in afflicting and killing of Innocents; and this is that so many have died for.

Also it is generally believed, that if any Man has strength, it is from God the Almighty being: But these notions will tell us, that the Devil can make one Man as strong as many, which was one of the best proofs, as it was counted, against Mr. Burroughs *the Minister; tho' his contemporaries in the Schools during his Minority could have testified, that his strength was then as much superiour to theirs as ever (setting aside incredible Romances) it was discovered to be since. Thus rendring the power of God, and his providence of none Effect.*

These are some of the destructive notions of this Age, and however the asserters of them seem sometimes to value themselves much upon sheltring their Neighbours from Spectral Accusations. They may deserve as much thanks as that Tyrant, that having industriously obtained an unintelligible charge against his Subjects, in matters wherein it was impossible they should be Guilty, having thereby their lives in his power, yet suffers them of his meer Grace to live, and will be call'd gracious Lord.

It were too Icarian *a task for one unfurnish'd with necessary learning, and Library, to give any Just account, from whence so great delusions have sprung, and so long continued. Yet as an Essay from these scraps of reading that I have had opportunity of; it will be no great venture to say, that Signs and Lying Wonders have been one principal cause.*

It is written of Justin Martyr, *who lived in the second Century, that he was before his conversion a great Philosopher; first in the way of the* Stoicks, *and after of the* Peripateticks, *after that of the* Pythagorean, *and after that of the* Platonists *Sects; and after all proved of Eminent use in the Church of Christ: Yet a certain Author speaking of one* Apollonius Tyaneus, *has these words* [That the most Orthodox themselves began to deem him vested with power sufficient for a Deity; which occasioned that so strange a doubt from *Justin Martyr*, as cited by the Learned *Gregory*, Fol. 37. Εἰ Θεὸς ἦν, *&c.* If God be the Creator and Lord of the World, how comes it to pass that *Apollonius* his *Telisms*, have so much over-ruled the course of things! for we see that they also have stilled the Waves of the Sea; and the raging of the Winds, and prevailed against the Noisome Flies, and Incursions of wild Beasts, *&c.* *If so Eminent and Early a Christian were by these false shews in such doubt, it is the less wonder in our depraved times, to meet with what is Equivalent thereto: Besides this a certain Author informs me, that* [Julian (*afterwards called the* Apostate) *being Instructed in the Philosophy and Disciplines of the Heathen by* Libarius *his Tutor, by this*

mean

means he came to love Philosophy better then the Gospel, and so by degrees turn'd from Christianity to Heathenism].

This same Julian *did when* Apostate, *forbid that Christians should be instructed in the Discipline of the* Gentiles, *which (it seems)* Socrates *a Writer of the Eccl. Ecclesiastical History, does acknowledge to be by the singular Providence of God; Christians having then begun to degenerate from the Gospel, and to betake themselves to Heathenish learning. And in the* Mercury *for the Month of* February, 1695, *there is this Account* [That the Christian Doctors converling much with the writings of the *Heathen* for the gaining of Eloquence. A Counsel was held at *Carthage*, which forbad the reading of the Books of the *Gentiles.*]

From all which it may be easily perceived, that in the Primitive times of Christianity, when not only many Heathen of the Vulgar; but also many learn'd Men and Philosophers had imbraced the Christian Faith; they still retained a love to their Heathen-learning, owhich as one Observes being transplanted into a Christian Soile, soon proved productive of pernicious Weeds, which over-ran the face of the Church, hence it was so deformed as the Reformation found it.

Among other pernicious Weeds arising from this Root, the Doctrine of the power of Devils, and Witchcraft as it is now, and long has been understood, is not the least; the Fables of Homer, Virgil, Horace *and* Ovid, &c. *being for the Elegancy of their Language retained then (and so are to this Day) in the Schools; have not only introduced, but established such Doctrines to the poisoning the Christian World. A certain Author Expresses it thus [that as the Christian Schools at first brought Men from Heathenism to the Gospel, so these Schools carry Men from the Gospel to Heathenism, as to their great perfection] and Mr.* I. M. *in his* Remarkable Providences, *gives an account that (as he calls it) an Old Counsel did Anathematize all those that believed such power of the Devils, accounting it a Damnable Doctrine. But as other Evils did afterwards increase in the Church (partly by such Education) so this insensibly grew up with them, tho not to that degree, as that any Counsel I have ever heard or Read of, has to this day taken off those* Anathema's; *yet after this the Church so far declined, that Witchcraft became a Principal, Ecclesiastical Engine (as also that of Heresie was) to root up all that stood in their way; and besides the ways of Tryal that we have still in practice, they invented some, which were peculiar to themselves; which when ever they were minded to improve against any Orthodox believer, they could easily make Effectual: That Deluge of Blood which that* Scarlet Whore *has to answer for, shed under this notion, how amazing is it.*

The first in England *that I have read of, of any note since the Reformation, that asserts this Doctrine, is the famous Mr.* Perkins, *he (as also Mr.* Gaul, *and Mr.* Bernard, &c. *seems all of them to have undertaken one Task, they) taking notice of the Multiplicity of irregular ways to try them by, invented by Heathen and Papists, made it their business and main work herein to oppose such as they saw to be pernicious. And if they did not look more narrowly into it, but followed the first,* viz. *Mr.* Perkins *whose Education (as theirs also) had forestall'd him into such belief, whom they readily followed; it cannot be wondered at: And that they were men liable to Err, and so not to be trusted to as perfect guides, will manifestly appear to him that shall see their several receits laid down to detect them by ther Presumptive and Positive ones. And consider how few of either have any foundation in Scripture or Reason; and how vastly they differ from each other in both, each having his Art by himself, which Forty or an Hundred more may as well imitate, and give theirs,* ad infinitum, *being without all manner of proof. But*

But tho this be their main design to take off People from those Evil and bloody ways of trial which they speak so much against. Yet this does not hinder to this day, but the same Evil ways or as bad are still used to detect them by, and that even among Protestants; and is so far Justified that a Reverend Person has said lately here, how else shall we detect Witches. And another being urged to prove by Scripture such a sort of Witch as has power to send Devils to kill men, replied, that he did as firmly believe it as any Article of his Faith. And that he (the inquirer) did not go to the Scripture; to learn the Mysteries, of his trade or Art. What can be said more to Establish there Heathnish notions and to Villifie the Scriptures, our only Rule; and that after we have seen such dire effects thereof, as has threatned the utter Extirpation of this whole Country.

And as to most of the Actors in these Tragedies, tho they are so far from Defending their Actions that they will Readily own, that undue steps have been taken, &c. Yet it seems they choose that the same should be Acted over again inforced by their Example, rather than that it should Remain as a Warning to Posterity, wherein they have miss'd it. So far are they from giving Glory to God, and taking the due shame to themselves.

And now to sum up all in a few words, we have seen a Biggotted Zeal stirring up a Blind and most Bloody rage, not against Enemies, or Irreligious Profligate Persons. But (in Judgment. of Charity, and to view) against as Virtuous and Religious as any they have left behind them in this Country, which have suffered as Evil doers (with the utmost extent of rigour, not that so high a Charactor is due to all that Suffered, and this by the Testimony of Vile Varlets as not only were known before, but have been further apparent since by their Manifest Lives, Whordoms, Incest, &c. The Accusations of these, from their Spectral Sight, being the chief Evidence against those that Suffered. In which Accusations they were upheld by both Magistrates and Ministers, so long as they Apprehended themselves in no Danger.

And then tho they could defend neither the Doctrine, nor the Practice, yet none of them have in such a publick manner as the case Requires, testified against either; tho at the same time they could not but be sensible what a Stain and lasting Infamy they have brought upon the whole Country; to the Indangering the future welfair not only of this but of other places, induced by their Example; if not, to an intailing the Guilt of all the Righteous Blood that has been by the same means Shed, by Heathen or Papists, &c. upon themselves, whose deeds they have so far justified, occasioning the great Dishonour and Blasphemy of the Name of God, Scandalizing the Heathen, hardning of Enemies; and as a Naturall effect thereof, to the great Increase of Atheism.

I shall conclude only with acquainting the Reader that of these Collections, the first containing more Wonders of the Invisible World, I received of a Gentleman, who had it of the Author and communicated it to use, with his expres's consent, of which this is a true Copy; as to the Letters, they are for Substance the same I sent, tho with some small Variation or Addition. Touching the two Letters from a Gentleman at his request, I have forborn naming him. It is great Pity the matters of Fact, and indeed the whole, had not been done by some abler hand better Accomplished and Adnantages with both natural and acquired Judgments, but others not Appearing, I have inforc'd my self to do what is done, my oth· occasions Will not admit any further Scrutiny therein.

Boston in N..w-England, Aug. 11. 1697. R. C.

THE

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SIR,

SIR,

I *Now lay before you a very Entertaining Story, a Story which relates yet more* Wonders of the Invisible World, *a Story which tells the Remarkable Afflictions and Deliverance of one that had been Prodigiously handled by the* Evil Angels. *I was my self a daily* Eye Witness *to a large part of these Occurrences, and there may be produced Scores of Substantial* Witnesses *to the most of them; yea, I know not of any one Passage of the Story, but what may be sufficiently Attested. I do not Write it with a design of throwing it presently into the Press, but only to preserve the Memory of such Memorable things, the forgetting whereof would neither be* pleasing *to God, nor useful to Men; as also to give you, with some others of peculiar and obliging Friends, a sight of some* Curiosities, *and I hope this Apologie will serve to Excuse me, if I mention, as perhaps I may, when I come to a tenth Paragraph in my Writing, some things which I would have omitted in a farther Publication.*

Cotton Mather.

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Part I. Section I.

The Afflictions of MARGARET RULE.

WIthin these few years there died in the *Southern Parts* a Christian *Indian*, who notwithstanding some of his *Indian*-Weaknesses, had something of a better Character of Vertue and Goodness, than many of our People can allow to most of their Countrey-Men that profess the *Christian Religion*. He had been a Zealous Preacher of the Gospel to his Neighbour-hood, and a sort of *Overseer* or *Officer*, to whose Conduct was owing very much of what good order was maintained among those Proselited *Savages*: This Man returning home from the Funeral of his Son, was Complemented by an *English-Man*, expressing *Sorrow for his Loss*; now, tho' the *Indians* use, upon the Death of Relations, to be the most Passionate and Outragious Creatures in the World, yet this Converted *Indian*, Handsomly and Chearfully repli'd, *Truly I am sorry, and I am not sorry; I am sorry that I have Buried a dear Son; but I am not sorry that the will of God is done. I know that without the will of God my Son could not have Died, and I know that the will*

of God is allways just and good, and so I am satisfied. Immediately upon this, even within a few hours, he fell himself Sick of a Disease that quickly kill'd him; in the time of which Disease he call'd his Folks about him, earnestly perswading them to be Sincere in their *Praying unto God*, and beware of the *Drunkenness*, the *Idleness*, the *Lying*, whereby so many of that Nation disgrac'd their Profession of Christianity; adding, that he was ashamed when he thought how little Service he had hitherto done for God; and that if God would prolong his Life he would Labour to do better Service, but that he was fully sure he was now going to the Lord *Jesus Christ*, who had bought him with his own Precious *Blood*; and for his part he long'd to Die that he might be with his Glorious Lord, and in the mid'st of such passages he gave up the Ghost, but in such repute, that the *English* People of good Fashion did not think much of Travelling a great way to his *Interment*. Left my Reader do now wonder why I have related this piece of a Story, I will now hasten to abate that Wonder, by telling that whereto this was intended, but for an *Introduction*: Know then that this remarkable *Indian* being a little before he Died at work in the Wood making of *Tarr*, there appeared unto him a *Black-Man*, of a Terrible aspect, and more than humane Dimensions, threatning bitterly to kill him if he would not promise to leave off *Preaching* as he did to his Countrey-Men, and promise particularly, *that if he Preached any more, he would say nothing of* Jesus Christ *unto them?* The *Indian* amaz'd, yet had the courage to answer, *I will in spite of you go on to Preach* Christ *more than ever I did, and the God whom I serve will keep me that you shall never hurt me.* Hereupon the Apparition abating somewhat of his fierceness, offered to the *Indian* a *Book* of a considerable thickness and a *Pen and Ink*, and said, that if he would now set his hand unto that *Book* he would require nothing further of him; but the Man refused the motion with indignation, and fell down upon his knees into a Fervent and Pious Prayer unto God for help against the *Tempter*, whereupon the *Dæmon* Vanish't.

This is a Story which I would never have tendered unto my Reader, if I had not Receiv'd it from an honest and useful *English* Man, who is at this time a Preacher of the Gospel to the *Indians*, nor would the probable Truth of it have encouraged me to have tendered it, if this also had not been a fit introduction unto yet a further Narrative.

Sect 2. 'Twas not much above a year or two, after this Accident (of which no manner of Noise has been made) that there was a Prodigious descent of *Devils* upon divers places near the Center of this Province, wherein some scores of *Miserable People* were Troubled by horrible appearances of a *Black-Man*, accompanied with *Spectres*, wearing these and those Humane Shapes, who offer'd them a *Book* to be by them sign'd, in token of their being Listed for the Service of the *Devil*, and upon their deny-

denying to do it, they were *Dragoon'd* with a thousand Preternatural Torments, which gave no little terror to the beholders of these unhappy *Energuments.* There was one in the *North* part of *Boston* seized by the *Evil-Angels* many Months after the General Storm of the late *Inchantments* was over, and when the Countrey had long lain pretty quiet, both as to Molestations and Accusations from the *INVISIBLE WORLD*, her Name was *Margaret Rule*, a Young Woman, She was born of sober and honest Parents, yet Living, but what her own Character was before her Visitation, I can speak with the less confidence of exactness, because I observe that wherever the *Devils* have been let loose to worry any Poor Creature amongst us, a great part of the Neighbourhood presently set themselves to inquire and relate all the little Vanities of their Childhood, with such unequal exaggerations, as to make them appear greater Sinners than any whom the Pilate of *Hell* has not yet Preyed upon: But it is affirm'd, that for about half a year before her Visitation, she was observably improved in the hopeful symptoms of a new Creature; She was become seriously concern'd for the everlasting *Salvation* of her Soul, and careful to avoid the snares of *Evil Company.* This Young Woman had never seen the affliction of *Mercy Short*, whereof a Narrative has been already given, and yet about half a year after the glorious and signal deliverance of that poor Damsel, this *Margaret* fell into an affliction, marvellous, resembling hers in almost all the circumstances of it, indeed the Afflictions were so much alike, that the relation I have given of the one, would almost serve as the full History of the other, this was to that, *little more than the second part to the same Tune*, indeed *Margerets* case was in several points less remarkable than *Mercies*, and in some other things the Entertainment did a little vary.

Sect 3. 'Twas upon the *Lords Day* the 10th of *September*, in the Year 1693. that *Margaret Rule*, after some hours of previous disturbance in the Publick Assembly, fell into odd *Fits*, which caused her Friends to carry her home, where her *Fits* in a few hours grew into a Figure that satisfied the Spectators of their being preternatural; some of the Neighbours were forward enough to suspect the rise of this Mischief in an House hard-by, where lived a Miserable Woman, who had been formerly Imprisoned on the suspicion of *Witchcraft*, and who had frequently Cured very painfull Hurts by muttering over them certain *Charms*, which I shall not indanger the Poysoning of my Reader by repeating. This Woman had the Evening before *Margaret* fell into her Calamities, very bitterly treated her, and threatn'd her; but the hazard of hurting a poor Woman that might be innocent, notwithstanding *Surmizes* that might have been more strongly grounded than those, caus'd the pious People in the Vicinity to try rather whether ineessant *Supplication* to *God*

alone, might not procure a quicker and safer Ease to the *Afflicted*, than hasty Prosecution of any suppos'd Criminal, and accordingly that *unexceptionable course* was all that was ever followed; yea, which I look't on as a token for good, the Afflicted Family was as averse as any of us all to entertain thoughts of any other course.

Sect. 4. The Young Woman was assaulted by *Eight* cruel *Spectres*, whereof she imagin'd that she knew *three* or *four*, but the rest came still with their *Faces cover'd*, so that she could never have a distinguishing view of the countenance of those whom she thought she knew; she was very careful of my reitterated charges *to forbear blazing the Names*, lest any good Person should come to suffer any blast of Reputation thro' the cunning Malice of the great Accuser; nevertheless having since privately named *them* to my self, I will venture to say *this* of them, that they are a sort of *Wretches* who for these many years have gone under as Violent *Presumptions* of *Witchcraft*, as perhaps any creatures yet living upon Earth; altho' I am farr from thinking that the Visions of this Young Woman were *Evidence* enough to prove them so. These cursed *Spectres* now brought unto her a *Book* about a *Cubet* long, a *Book Red* and *thick*, but not very broad, and they demanded of her that she would set *her Hand* to that *Book*, or touch it at least with her *Hand*, as a Sign of her becoming a Servant of the *Devil*, upon her peremptory refusal *to do* what they asked, they did not after renew the profers of the *Book* unto her, but instead thereof, they fell to Tormenting of her in a manner too Hellish to be sufficiently described, in those Torments confining her to her *Bed*, for just Six *weeks* together,

Sect. 5. Sometimes, but not always together with the *Spectres*, there look't in upon the Young Woman (according to her account) *a short and a Black Man*, whom they call'd their Master, a Wight exactly of the same Dimensions and Complexion and voice, with the *Divel* that has exhibited himself unto other infested People, not only in other parts of this Country but also in other Countrys, even of the *European World*, as the relation of the Enchantments there inform us, they all profest themselves Vassals of this *Devil*, and in obedience unto him they address themselves unto various ways of Torturing her; accordingly she was cruelly *pinch't with Invisible Hands* very often in a Day, and the black and blew marks of the pinches became immediately visible unto the standers by. Besides this, when her attendants had left her without so much as one pin about her, that so they might prevent some fear'd inconveniencies; yet she would ever now and then be miserably hurt with Pins which were found stuck into her Neck, Back and Arms, however, the Wounds made by the Pins would in a few minutes ordinarily be cured; she would also be strangely distorted in her Joynts, and thrown into such exorbitant *Convulsions* as

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were astonishing unto the Spectators in General; They that could behold the doleful condition of the poor Family without sensible compassions might have *Intrals* indeed, but I am sure they could have no true *Bowels* in them.

Sect. 6 It were a most Unchristian and uncivil, yea a most unreasonable thing to imagine that the Fitt's of the Young Woman were but meer *Impostures*: And I believe scarce any, but People of a particular *Dirtiness*, will harbour such an Uncharitable Censure; however, because I know not how far the *Devil* may drive the Imagination of poor Creatures when he has possession of them, that at another time when they are *themselves* would scorn to *Dissemble* any thing. I shall now confine my Narrative unto passages, wherein there could be no room left for any Dissimulation. Of these the first that I'll mention shall be this; From the time that *Margaret Rule* first found her self to be formally besieged by the *Spectres* untill the Ninth Day following, namely from the Tenth of *September* to the Eighteenth, she kept an entire Fast, and yet she was unto all appearance as Fresh, as Lively, as Hearty, at the Nine Days End, as before they began; in all this time, tho' she had a very eager *Hunger* upon her Stomach, yet if any refreshment were brought unto her, her Teeth would be set, and she would be thrown into many Miseries, Indeed *once or twice or so* in all this time, her Tormentors permitted her to swallow a Mouthful of somewhat that might encrease her Miseries, whereof a Spoonful of *Rum* was the most considerable; but otherwise, as I said, her *Fast* unto the *Ninth day* was very extream and rigid: However, afterwards there scarce passed a day wherein she had not liberty to take something or other for her *Sustentation*. And I must add this further, that this business of her *Fast* was carried so, that it was impossible to be dissembled without a *Combination* of Multitudes of People unacquainted with one another to support the *Juggle*, but he that can imagine such a thing of a Neighbourhood, so fill'd with Vertuous People is a *base Man* I cannot call him any other.

Sect. 7. But if the Sufferings of this Young Woman were not *Imposture*, yet might they not be pure Distemper? I will not here inquire of our *Saducees*, what sort of Distemper 'tis shall stick the Body full of *Pins*, without any Hand that could be seen to stick them; or whether all the *Pinmakers* in the World would be willing to be Evaporated into certain ill habits of Body producing a *Distemper*, but of the *Distemper* my Reader shall be Judge when I have to'd him something further of those unusual Sufferings. I do believe that the *Evil Angels* do often take Advantage from *Natural Distempers* in the Children of Men to annoy them with such further Mischiefs as we call *preternatural*. The Malignant *Vapours* and *Humours* of our Diseased Bodies may be used by *Devils*, thereinto insinuating

ating as engine of the Execution of their Malice upon those *Bodies*; and perhaps for this reason one Sex may suffer more Troubles of some kinds from the *Invisible World* than the *other*, as well as for *that reason* for which the Old *Serpent* made where he did his *first Address*. But *I* Pray what will you say to this, *Margaret Rule* would sometimes have her Jaws forcibly pulled open, whereupon something *Invisible* would be poured down her Throat; we all saw her swallow, and yet we saw her try all she could by Spitting, Coughing and Shriking, that she might not swalow, but one time the standers by plainly saw something of that odd *Liquor* it self on the outside of her *Neck*; She cried out of it as of *Scalding Brimstone* poured into her, and the whole House would Immediately scent so hot of *Brimstone* that we were scarce able to endure it, whereof there are scores of Witnesses; but the Young Woman her self would be so monstrously *Inflam'd* that it would have broke a Heart of Stone to have seen her Agonies, *this* was a thing that several times happen'd and several times when her Mouth was thus pull'd open, the standers by clapping their Hands closethereupon the distresses that otherwise followed would be diverted. Moreover there was a *whitish Powder* to us *Invisible* sometimes cast upon the *Eyes* of this Young Woman, whereby her *Eyes* would be extreamly incommoded, but one time some of this *Powder* was fallen actually *Visible* upon her Cheek, from whence the People in the Room wiped it with their Handkerchiefs, and sometimes the Young Woman would also be so bitterly scorched with the unseen *Sulphur* thrown upon her, that very sensible *Blisters* would be raised upon her Skin, whereto her Friends found it necessary to apply the *Oyl*'s proper for common *Burning*, but the most of these Hurts would be cured in two or three days at farthest: I think I may *without Vanity* pretend to have read not a few of the best System's of *Physick* that have been yet seen in these *American* Regions, but I must confess that I have never yet learned the Name of the Natural Distemper, whereto these odd symptoms do belong: However I might suggest perhaps many a *Natural Medicine*, which would be of singular use against many of them.

Sect. 8. But there fell out some *other matters* farr beyond the reach of *Natural Distemper*: This *Margaret Rule* once in the middle of the Night Lamented sadly that the *Spectres* threatned the Drowning of a Young Man in the Neighbourhood, whom she named unto the Company: well it was afterwards found that at that very time this Young Man, having been prest on Board *a Man of War* then in the Harbour, was out of some dissatisfaction attempting to swim a shoar, and he had been *Drowned* in the attempt, if a Boat had not seasonably taken him up; it was by computation a minute or two after the Young Womans discourse of the *Drowning*, that the Young Man took the Water; At another time she told us that

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the *Spectres* bragg'd and laughed in her hearing about an exploit they had lately done, by stealing from a Gentleman his *Will* soon after he had written it; and within a few hours after she had spoken this there came to me a Gentleman with a private complaint, that having written his *Will* it was unaccountably gone out of the way, *how* or *where* he could not Imagine; and besides all this, there were wonderful *Noises* every now and then made about the Room, which our People could Ascribe to no other Authors but the *Spectres*, yea, the Watchers affirm that they heard those fiends clapping of their hands together with an *Audibleness*, wherein they could not be Imposed upon. And once her Tormentors pull'd her up to the *Cieling* of the Chamber, and held her there before a very Numerous Company of *Spectators*, who found it as much as they could *all do* to pull her down again. There was also another very surprising circumstance about her, agreeable to what we have not only *Read* in several Histories concerning the *Imps* that have been Imployed in *Witchcraft*; but also known in some of our own afflicted: *We once thought we perceived something stir upon her Pillow at a little distance from her, whereupon one present laying his hand there, he to his horror* apprehended that *he felt*, tho' none could see it, *a living Creature, not altogether unlike a Rat, which nimbly escap'd from him*: and there were diverse other Persons who were thrown into a great consternation by feeling, as they Judg'd, at other times the same *Invisible Animal*.

Sect. 9. As it has been with a Thousand other *Inchanted* People, so it was with *Margaret Rule* in this particular, that there were several words which her *Tormentors* would not let her hear, especially the word Pray or Prayer, and yet she could so hear the letters of those words distinctly mentioned as to know what they ment. The standers by were forced sometimes thus in discourse to spell a word to her, but because there were some so ridiculous as to count it a sort of *Spell* or a *Charm* for any thus to accommodate themselves to the capacity of the Sufferer, little of this kind was done. But that which was more singular in this matter, was that she could not use these *words* in those penetrating discourses, wherewith she would sometimes address the *Spectres* that were about her. She would sometimes for a long while together apply her self to the *Spectres*, whom she supposed the Witches, with such *Exhortations to Repentance* as would have melted an Heart of *Adamant* to have heard them; her strains of Expression and Argument were truly Extraordinary; A Person perhaps of the best Education and Experience and of *Attainments* much beyond hers could not have exceeded them: nevertheless when she came to these Words *God*, *Lord*, *Christ*, *Good*, *Repent* and some other such, her Mouth could not utter them, whereupon she would sometimes in an Angry *Parenthesis* complain of their Wickedness in stopping that *Word*, but she would then go

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on with ſome other *Terms* that would ſerve to tell what ſhe ment. And I believe that if the moſt ſuſpicious Perſon in the world had beheld all the Circumſtances of this matter, he would have ſaid it could not have been diſſembled.

Sect. 10. Not only in the *Swediſh*, but alſo in the *Salem* Witchcraft the Inchanted People have talked much of a *White Spirit* from whence they received marvellous Aſſiſtances in their Miſeries; what lately befel *Mercy Short* from the Communications of ſuch a *Spirit*, hath been the juſt Wonder of us all, but by ſuch a *Spirit* was *Margaret Rule* now alſo viſited. She ſays that ſhe could never ſee his *Face*; but that ſhe had a frequent view of his bright, Shining and Glorious Garments; he ſtood by her *Bed-ſide* continually heartning and comforting of her and counſelling her to maintain her Faith and hope in God, and never comply with the temptations of her Adverſaries; ſhe ſays he told her that *God had permitted her Afflictions to befall her for the everlaſting and unſpeakable good of her own Soul, and for the good of many others, and for his own Immortal Glory, and that ſhe ſhould therefore be of good Chear and be aſſured of a ſpeedy deliverance*; And the wonderful reſolution of mind wherewith ſhe encountered her Afflictions were but agreeable to ſuch expectations. Moreover a Miniſter having one Day with ſome Importunity Prayed for the deliverance of this Young Woman, and pleaded that ſhe belong'd to his Flock and charge; he had ſo far a right unto her as that he was to do the part of a Miniſter of our Lord for the bringing of her home unto God; only now the *Devil* hindred him in *doing* that which he had a *right* thus to do, and whereas *He* had a *better Title* unto her to bring her home to *God* than the *Divel* could have unto her to carry her away from the *Lord*, *he* therefore humbly applied himſelf unto *God*, who alone could right this matter, with a ſuit that ſhe might be reſcued out of *Satans* Hands; Immediatly upon this, tho' ſhe heard nothing of this tranſaction ſhe began to call that Miniſter her *Father*, and that was the Name whereby ſhe every day before all ſorts of People diſtinguiſhed him: the occaſion of it ſhe ſays was *this*, the *white Spirit* preſently upon this tranſaction did after this manner ſpeak to her, *Margaret, you now are to take notice that* (ſuch a Man) *is your Father, God has given you to him, do you from this time look upon him as your Father, obey him, regard him as your Father, follow his Counſels and you ſhall do well*; And tho' there was one paſſage more, which I do as little know what to make of as any of the Reſt, I am now going to relate it; more than three times have I ſeen it fulfilled in the Deliverance of Inchanted and Poſſeſt Perſons, whom the Providence of God has caſt into my way, that their Deliverance could not be obtained before the *third Faſt* kept for them, and the third day ſtill obtain'd the Deliverance, although I have thought of *beſeeching of the Lord thrice, when ſuffered by Sa-*

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tan, yet I must earnestly Intreat all my Readers to beware of any superstitious conceits upon the Number *Three*, if our God will hear us upon once Praying and Fasting before him 'tis well, and if he will not vouchsafe his *Mercy* upon our *thrice* doing so, yet we must not be so discouraged as to throw by our Devotion but if the Soveraign *Grace* of our God will in any particular Instances count our Patience enough tryed when we have Solemnly waited upon him for any determinate Number of times, who shall say to him, what doest thou, and if there shall be any Number of Instances, wherein this Grace of our God has exactly holden the same course, it may have a room in our humble *Observations*, I hope, without any Superstition; I say then that after *Margaret Rule* had been more than five weeks in her Miseries, this *White Spirit* said unto her. *Well this day such a Man* (whom he named) *has keep a third day for your deliverance, now be of good cheer you shall speedily be delivered.* I inquired whether what had been said of that Man were true, and I gained exact and certain Information that it was precisely so, but I doubt lest in relating this Passage that I have used more openness than a Friend should be treated with, and for that cause I have concealed several of the most *memorable things* that have occurred not only in this but in some former Histories, altho indeed I am not so well satisfied about the true nature of this *white Spirit*, as to count that I can do a Friend much Honour by reporting what notice this *white Spirit* may have thus taken of him.

Sect. 11. On the last day of the Week her Tormentors, as she thought and said, approaching towards her, would be forced still to recoil and retire as unaccountably unable to meddle with her, and they would retice to the Fire side with their Poppets; but going to stick Pins into those Poppets; they could not (according to their visions) make the Pins to enter, she insulted over them with a very Proper derision, daring them now to do their worst, whilst she had the satisfaction to see their *Black Master* strike them and kick them, like an *Overseer* of so many *Negro's*, to make them to do their work, and renew the marks of his vengeance on them, when they failed of doing of it. At last being as it were tired with their ineffectual Attempts, to mortifie her they furiously said, *Well you shant be the last.* And after a pause they added, *Go, and the Devil go with you, we can do no more*; whereupon they flew out of the Room and she returning perfectly to her self most affectionately gave thanks to God for her deliverance; her Tormentors left her extream *weak and faint*, and overwhelmed with *Vapours*, which would not only cause her sometimes to Swoon away, but also now and then for a little while discompose the reasonableness of her Thoughts; Nevertheless her former troubles returned not, but we are now waiting to see the good effects of those troubles upon the Souls of all concern'd, And now I suppose that some of our Learned *wit-*

lings of the *Coffee-House*, for fear left theſe proofs of an *Inviſible-world* ſhould ſpoil ſome of their ſport, will endeavour to turn them all into ſport, for which *Buffoonary* their only pretence will be, *they cant underſtand how ſuch things as theſe could be done*, whereas indeed he that is but Philoſopher enough to have read but one *Little Treatiſe*, Publiſhed in the Year 1656. by no other Man than the Chyrurgion of an *Army*, or but one Chap. of *Helmont*, which I will not quote at this time too particularly, may give a far more intelligible account of theſe *Appearances* than moſt of theſe *Blades* can give *why* and how their *Tobacco* makes 'em ſpit; or which way the flame of their Candle becomes illuminating, as for that *cavil, the World would be undone if the Devils could have ſuch power as they ſeem to have in ſeveral of our ſtories*, it may be Anſwered that as to many things the *Lying Devils* have only known them to be done, and then pretended unto the doing of thoſe things, but the true and beſt Anſwer is, that by theſe things we only ſee what the *Devils* could have *powers* to do, if the great God ſhould give them thoſe powers, whereas now our Hiſtories affords *a Glorious Evidence for the being of a God*, the World would indeed be *undone*, and horribly *undone*, if theſe Devils, who now and then get liberty to play ſome very miſchievous pranks, were not under a daily reſtraint of ſome *Almighty Superior* from doing more of ſuch Miſchiefs. Wherefore inſtead of all Apiſh *flouts* and *jeers* at Hiſtories, which have ſuch undoubted confirmation, as that no Man that has breeding enough to regard the Common Laws of *Humane Society*, will offer to doubt of 'em; it becomes us rather to adore the Goodneſs of God, who does not permit ſuch things every day to befall us *all*, as he ſometimes did permit to befall ſome few of our miſerable Neighbours.

Sect. 12. And what after all my unwearied Cares and Pains, to reſcue the *Miſerable* from the Lions and Bears of *Hell*, which had ſiezed them, and after all my Studies to diſappoint the Devils in their deſigns to confound my Neighbourhood, muſt I be driven to the neceſſity of an *Apologie*? Truly the hard *repreſentations* wherewith *ſome Ill Men have reviled my conduct*, and the Countenance which other Men have given to theſe repreſentations, oblige me to give Mankind ſome account of my Behaviour; No Chriſtian can, I ſay none but evil workers can criminate my viſiting ſuch of my poor flock as have at any time fallen under the terrible and ſenſible moleſtations of *Evil-Angels*; let their Afflictions have been what they will, I could not have anſwered it unto my Glorious *Lord*, if I had withheld my juſt *Counſels* and *Comforts* from them; and if I have alſo with ſome exactneſs obſerv'd the methods of the *Inviſible-World*, when they have thus become obſervable, I have been but a Servant of Mankind in doing ſo; yea no leſs a Perſon than the *Venerable Baxter*, has more than once or twice in the moſt Publick manner invited Mankind to thank

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me for that *Service.* I have not been insensible of a greater danger attending me in this fulfilment of my Ministry, than if I had been to take Ten Thousand steps over a Rocky Mountain fill'd with *Rattle-Snakes*, but I have consider'd, he that is wise will observe things, and the *Surprizing Explication* and confirmation of the *biggest part* of the *Bible*, which *I have seen* given in these things, has *abundantly paid me*, for observing them. Now in my visiting of the Miserable, I was always of this opinion that we were Ignorant of what *Powers* the *Devils* might have to do their mischiefs in the shapes of some that had never been explicitly engaged in *Diabolical Confederacies*, and that therefore tho' many *Witchcrafts* had been fairly detected *on Enquiries* provoked and begun by *Specteral Exhibitions*, yet we could not easily be too jealous of the *Snares* laid for us in the *devices of Satan*; the World knows how many *Pages* I have Composed and Published, and particular Gentlement in the Government know how many *Letters* I have written to prevent the excessive Credit of *Specteral Accusations*, wherefore I have still charged the *Afflicted* that they should *Cry* out of no body for Afflicting of 'em. But if that this might be any Advantage they might *privately* tell their minds to some one Person of *discretion* enough to make no *ill use* of their communications, accordingly there has been this effect of it, that the Name of *No one* good Person in the World ever come under any blemish by means of any *Afflicted*, Person that fell under *my* particular cognisance, yea no one Man, Woman or Child ever came into any trouble for the sake of any that were *Afflicted* after *I had once begun* to look after 'em; how often have I had this thrown into my dish, that many years ago I had an opportunity to have brought forth such People as have in the late storm of *Witchcraft* been complain'd of, but that I smother'd all, and after that storm was rais'd at *Salem*, I did my self offer to provide Meat, Drink and Lodging for no less than Six of the Afflicted, that so an Experiment might be made, whether *Prayer* with *Fasting* upon the removal of the distressed might not put a Period to the trouble then rising, without giving the *Civil Authority* the trouble of prosecuting those things which nothing but a Conscientious regard unto the cries of Miserable Families, could have overcome the Reluctancies of the Honourable Judges to meddle with; In short I do humbly but freely affirm it, there is not that Man living in this World who has been more desirous than the poor Man *I to shelter* my Neighbours from the Inconveniencies of *Specteral Outcries*, yea I am very jealous I have done so much *that way as to Sin* in what I have done, such have been the Cowardize and Fearfulness whereunto my regard unto the dissatisfactions of other People has precipitated me. I know a Man in the World, who has thought he has been able to Convict some such *Witches* as ought to Dye, but his respect unto the Publick *Peace* has caused him rather to try whether *He*

could not renew them by Repentance: And as I have been Studious to defeat the *Devils* of their expectations to set people together by the Ears, thus, I have also checked and quell'd those forbidden curiosities, which would have given the *Devil* an invitation to have tarried amongst us, when I have seen wonderful *Snares* laid for *Curious* People, by the secret and future things discovered from the *Mouths of Damsels possest with a Spirit of divination*; Indeed I can recollect but one thing wherein there could be given so much as a Shadow of Reason for *Exceptions*, and that is my allowing of so many to come and see those that were *Afflicted*, now for that I have this to say, that I have almost *a Thousand times* intreated the Friends of the Miserable, that they would not permit the Intrusion of any Company, but such as *by Prayers* or other ways might be helpful to them; Nevertheless I have not absolutely forbid all Company from coming to your Haunted Chambers, partly because the Calamities of the Families were such as required the Assistance of *many Friends*; partly because I have been willing that there should be *disinterested Witnesses* of all sorts, to confute the Calumnies of such as would say *all was but Imposture*; and partly because I saw God had Sanctified the Spectacle of the Miseries on the Afflicted unto the Souls of many that were Spectators, and it is a very Glorious thing that I have now to mention ---- The Devils have with most horrendous operations broke in upon our Neighbourhood, and God has at such a rate over-ruled all the Fury and Malice of those Devils, that all the Afflicted have not only been *Delivered*, but I hope also savingly brought home unto God, and the Reputation of *no one* good Person in the World has been damaged, but instead thereof the Souls of many, especially of the rising Generation, have been thereby awaken'd unto some acquaintance with *Religion*, our young People who belonged unto the *Praying Meetings*, of both Sexes, a part would ordinarily spend whole *Nights* by the whole Weeks together in *Prayers* and Psalms upon these occasions, in which Devotions the Devils could get nothing but like *Fools a Scourge for their own Backs*, and some scores of other young People, who were strangers to real Piety, were now struck with the lively demonstrations of *Hell* evidently set forth before their Eyes, when they saw Persons cruelly Frighted, Wounded and Starved by Devils and Scalded with burning *Brimstone*, and yet so preserved in this tortured Estate as that at the end of one Months wretchedness they were as able still to undergo another, so that of these also it might now be said, Behold they Pray in the whole -- The Devil got just nothing; but God got praises, Christ got Subjects, the Holy Spirit got *Temples*, the Church got *Addition*, and the Souls of Men got everlasting *Benefits*; I am not so vain as to say that any *Wisdome* or *Vertue* of mine did contribute unto this good order of things: But I am so just, as to say I did not hinder this Good.

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When therefore there have been those that pickt up little incoherent scraps and bits of my *Discourses* in this fruitful discharge of my Ministry, and so traversted 'em in their abusive *Pamphlets*, as to perswade the Town that I was their *common Enemy* in those very points, wherein, if in any one thing whatsoever I have sensibly approved my self as true a Servant unto 'em as possibly *I* could, tho my Life and Soul had been at Stake for it. Yea to do like *Satan* himself, by sly, base, unpretending *Insinuations*, as if I wore not the Modesty and Gravity which became a Minister of the Gospel, I could not but think my self unkindly dealt withal, and the neglects of *others* to do me *justice* in this affair has caused me to conclude this Narrative with complaints in *another hearing* of such Monstrous Injuries.

PART II.

A Letter to Mr. C. M.

Mr. *Cotton Mather*, *Boston* Jan. 11*th.* 1693.

Reverend Sir, I finding it needful on many accounts, I here present you with the Copy of that Paper, which has been so much Misrepresented, to the End that what shall be found defective or not fairly Represented, if any such shall appear, they may be set right, which Runs thus.

September *the* 13*th.* 1693.

In the Evening when the Sun was withdrawn, giving place to Darkness to succeed, I with some others were drawn by curiosity to see Margaret Rule, *and so much the rather because it was reported Mr.* M- - - - *would be there that Night: Being come to her Fathers House into the Chamber wherein she was in Bed, found her of a healthy countenance of about seventeen Years Old, lying very still, and speaking very little, what she did say seem'd as if she were Light-Headed. Then Mr.* M- - - *Father and Son came up and others with them, in the whole were about* 30 *or* 40 *Persons, they being sat, the Father on a Stool, and the Son upon the Bedside by her, the Son began to question her,* Margaret Rule, *how do you do?* then a pause without any answer. Question. *What do there a great many Witches sit upon you? Answer.* Yes. Q. *Do you not know that there is a hard Master?* Then she was in a Fit; *He laid his hand upon her Face and Nose, but, as he said, without perceiving Breath; then he brush'd her on the Face with his Glove, and rubb'd her Stomach (her Breast not covered with the Bed-cloaths) and bid others do so too, and said*

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it eased her, then she revived. Q. *Don't you know there is a hard Master?* A. *Yes,* Reply; *Don't serve that hard Master, you know who.* Q. *Do you believe? Then again she was in a Fit, and he again rub'd her Breast,* &c. *(about this time* Margaret Perd *an attendant assisted him in rubbing of her. The Afflicted spake angerely to her saying don't you meddle with me, and hastily put away her hand) he wrought his Fingers before her Eyes and asked her if she saw the Witches?* A. *No,* Q. *Do you believe?* A. *Yes.* Q. *Do you believe in you know who?* A. *Yes.* Q. *Would you have other People do so too, to believe in you know who?* A. *Yes.* Q. *Who is it that Afflicts you?* A. *I know not, there is a great many of them (about this time the Father question'd if she knew the Spectres? An attendant said, if she did she would not tell; The Son proceeded)* Q. *You have seen the Black-man hant you?* A: No, Reply; *I hope you never shall.* Q. *You have had a Book offered you, hant you?* A. *No,* Q. *The brushing of you gives you ease, don't it?* A. *Yes. She turn'd her selfe, and a little Groan'd.* Q. *Now the Witches Scratch you and Pinch you, and Bite you, don't they?* A. *Yes, then he put his Hand upon her Breast and Belly,* viz. *on the Cleaths over her, and felt a Living thing. as he said, which moved the Father also to feel, and some others;* Q. *Don't you feel the Live thing in the Bed?* A. *No.* Reply, *that is only Fancie.* Q. *the great company of People increase your Torment, don't they?* A. *Yes. The People about were desired to withdraw. One Woman said, I am sure I am no Witch, I will not go; so others, so none withdrew.* Q. *Shall we go to Prayers, Then she lay in a Fit as before. But this time to revive her, they waved a Hat and brushed her Head and Pillow therewith.* Q. *Shall we go to PRAY,* &c. *Spelling the Word.* A. *Yes. The Father went to Prayer for perhaps half an Hour, chiefly against the Power of the Devil and Witchcraft, and that God would bring out the Afflicters: during Prayer-time, the Son stood by, and when they thought she was in a Fit, rub'd her and brush'd her as before, and beckned to others to do the like, after Prayer he proceeded;* Q. *You did not hear when we were at Prayer, did you?* A. *Yes. You dont hear always? you dont hear sometimes past a Word or two, do you?* A. *No. Then turning him about said, this is just another* Mercy Short: Margaret Perd *reply'd, she was not like her in her Fits.* Q. *What does she eat or drink?* A. *Not eat at all; but drink* Rum. *Then he admonished the young People to take warning,* &c. *Saying it was a sad thing to be so Tormented by the Devil and his Instruments: A Young-man present in the habit of a Seaman, reply'd this is the Devil all over, Than the Ministers withdrew. Soon after they were gon the Afflicted desired the Women to be gone, saying, that the Company of the Men was not offensive to her, and having hold of the hand of a Young-man, said to have been her Sweet-heart formerly, who was withdrawing; She pull'd him again into his Seat, saying he should not go to Night.*

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September *the* 19th. 1693.

THis Night I renew'd my Visit, and found her rather of a fresher Countenance than before, about eight Persons present with her, she was in a Fit Screeming and making a Noise: Three or four Persons rub'd and brush'd her with their hands, they said that the brushing did put them away, if they brush'd or rub'd in the right place; therefore they brush'd and rub'd in several places, and said that when they did it in the right place she could fetch her Breath, and by that they knew. She being come to her self was soon in a merry talking Fit. A Young-man came in and ask'd her how she did? She answered very bad, but at present a little better; he soon told her he must be gon and bid her good Night, at which she seem'd troubled, saying, that she liked his Company, and said she would not have him go till she was well; adding, for I shall Die when you are gon. Then she complained they did not put her on a clean Cap, but let her ly so like a Beast, saying, she should lose her Fellows. She said she wondered any People should be so Wicked as to think she was not Afflicted, but to think she Dissembled, a Young-woman answered Yes, if they were to see you in this merry Fit, they would say you Dissembled indeed; She reply'd Mr. M--- *said this was her laughing time, she must laugh now: She said Mr.* M--- *had been there this Evening, and she enquired, how long he had been gon? She said, he stay'd alone with her in the room half an Hour, and said that he told her there were some that came for Spies, and to report about Town that she was not Afflicted. That during the said time she had no Fit, that he asked her if she knew how many times he had Prayed for her to Day? And that she answered that she could not tell; and that he replyed he had Prayed for her Nine times to Day; the Attendants said that she was sometimes in a Fit that none could open her Joynts, and that there came an Old Iron-jaw'd Woman and try'd, but could not do it; they likewise said, that her Head could not be moved from the Pillow; I try'd to move her Head, and found no more difficulty than another Bodies (and so did others) but was not willing to offend by lifting it up, one being reproved for endeavouring it, they saying Angrily you will break her Neck; The Attendants said Mr.* M--- *would not go to Prayer with her when People were in the Room, as they did one Night, that Night he felt the Live Creature.* Margaret Perd *and another, said they smelt* Brimstone; *I and others said we did not smell any; then they said they did not know what it was: This* Margaret *said, she wish'd she had been here when Mr.* M--- *was here, another Attendant said, if you had been here you might not have been permitted in, for her own Mother was not suffered to be present.*

Sir, after the sorest Affliction and greatest Blemish to Religion that ever befel this Country, and after most Men began to Fear that some undue steps had been taken, and after His Excellency (with their Majesties Approbation as is said) had put a stop to Executions, and Men began

to hope there would never be a return of the like; finding these Accounts to contain in them something extraordinary, I writ them down the same Nights in order to attain the certainty of them, and soon found them so confirmed that I have (besides other Demonstrations) the whole, under the Hands of two Persons are ready to attest the Truth of it, but not satisfied herewith; I shewed them to some of your particular Friends that so I might have the greater certainty: But was much surprized with the Message you sent me, that I should be Arrested for Slander, and at your calling me one of the worst of Lyars, making it Pulpit news with the Name of *Pernicious Libels*, &c. This occasion'd my first Letter.

September *the* 29*th*, 1693.

Reverend SIR,

I Having written from the Mouths of several Persons, who affirm they were present with Margaret Rule, *the* 13th, *Instant, her Answers and Behaviours*, &c. *And having shewed it to several of my Friends, as also yours, and understanding you are offended at it; This is to acquaint you, that if you and any one particular Friend, will please to meet me and some other Indifferent Person with me, at Mr.* Wilkins, *or at* Ben. Harris's, *you intimating the time, I shall be ready there to read it to you, as also a further Account of proceedings the* 19th, *Instant, which may be needful to prevent Groundless prejudices, and let deserved blame be cast where it ought; From, Sir, yours in what I may,* R. C.

The effects of which, Sir (not to mention that long Letter only once read to me) was, you sent me word you would meet me at Mr. *Wilkins* but before that Answer, at yours and your Fathers complaint, I was brought before their Majesties Justice, by Warrant, as for Scandalous *Libels* against your self, and was bound over to Answer at Sessions; I do not remember you then objected against the Truth of what I had wrote, but asserted it was wronged by omissions, which if it were so was past any Power of mine to remedy, having given a faithful account of all that came to my knowledge; And Sir, that you might not be without some Cognisance of the reasons why I took so much pains in it, as also for my own Information, if it might have been, I wrote to you my second Letter to this effect.

November *the* 24*th*, 1693.

Reverend SIR,

H Aving expected some Weeks, your meeting me at Mr. Wilkins *according to what you intimated to me,* J. M--- *and the time drawing near for our meeting elsewhere, I thought it not amiss to give you a Summary of my thoughts in the great concern, which as you say has been agitated with so much heat.*

heat. That there are Witches is not the doubt, the Scriptures else were in vain, which assign their Punishment to be by Death; But what this Witchcraft is, or wherein it does consist, seems to be the whole difficulty: And as it may be easily demonstrated, that all that bear that Name cannot be justly so accounted, so that some things and Actions not so esteemed by the most, yet upon due Examination will be found to merit no better Character.

In your late Book you lay down a brief Synopsis *of what has been written on that Subject, by a* Triumvirate *of as Eminent Men as ever handled it (as you are pleas'd to call them)* Viz. *Mr.* Perkins, Gaule, *and* Bernard *consisting of about* 30 *Tokens to know them by, many of them distinct from, if not thwarting each other: Among all of which I can find but one decisive,* Viz. *That of Mr.* Gaule, *Head* IV. *and runs thus; Among the most unhappy Circumstances to convict a Witch, one is a maligning and oppugning the Word, Work, or Worship of God, and by any extraordinary Sign seeking to seduce any from it, see* Deu. 13. 1, 2. Mat. 24. 24. Act. 13. 8, 10. 2 Tim. 3. 8. *Do but mark well the places, and for this very property of thus opposing and perverting, they are all there concluded Arrant and absolute Witches.*

This Head as here laid down and inserted by you, either is a Truth or not, if not, why is it here inserted from one of the Triumvirate, *if it be a Truth. as the Scriptures quoted will abundantly testifie, whence is it that it is so little regarded, tho it be the only Head well proved by Scripture, or that the rest of the* Triumvirate *should so far forget their Work as not to mention it. It were to be unjust to the Memory of those otherwise Wise Men, to suppose them to have any Sinister design; But perhaps the force of a prevailing opinion together with an Education thereto Suited, might overshadow their Judgments, as being wont to be but too prevalent in many other cases. But if the above be Truth, then the Scripture is full and plain, What is Witchcraft? And if so, what need of his next Head of Hanging of People without as full and clear Evidence as in other Cases? Or what need of the rest of the Receipts of the* Triumvirate? *what need of Praying that the Afflicted may be able to discover who 'tis that Afflicts them? or what need of Searching for Tet's for the Devil to Suck in his Old Age, or the Experiment of saying the Lords Prayer,* &c. *Which a multitude more practised in some places Superstitiously inclin'd. Other Actions have been practised for easing the Afflicted, less justifiable, if not strongly savouring of Witchcraft it self,* viz. *Fondly Imagining by the Hand,* &c. *to drive off Spectres, or to knock off Invisible Chains, or by striking in the Air to Wound either the Afflicted or others,* &c. *I write not this to accuse any, but that all may beware believing, That the Devils bounds are set, which he cannot pass, That the Devils are so full of Malice, That it cant be added to by Mankind, That where he hath Power he neither can nor will omit Executing it, That 'tis only the Almighty that sets*

bounds to his rage, and that only can Commissionate him to hurt or destroy any.

These last, Sir, are such Foundations of Truth, in my esteem, that I cannot but own it to be my duty to ascert them, when call'd, tho' with the hazard of my All: And consequently to detect such as these, That a Witch can Commissionate Devils to Afflict Mortals, That he can at his or the Witches pleasure Assume any Shape, That Hanging or Drawing of Witches can lessen his Power of Afflicting, or restore those that were at a distance Tormented, with many others depending on these; all tending, in my esteem, highly to the Dishonour of God, and the Indangering the well-being of a People, and do further add, that as the Scriptures are full that there is Witchcraft, (ut sup.) *so 'tis as plain that there are Possessions, and that the Bodies of the Possest have hence been not only Afflicted, but strangely agitated, if not their Tongues improved to foretell futurities,* &c. *and why not to accuse the Innocent, as bewitching them; having pretence to Divination to gain credence. This being reasonable to be expected, from him who is the Father of Lies, to the end he may thereby involve a Countrey in Blood, Mallice, and Evil, surmising which he greedily seeks after, and so finally lead them from their fear and dependance upon God to fear him, and a supposed Witch thereby attaining his end upon Mankind; and not only so, but Natural Distemper, as has been frequently observed by the Judicious, have so operated as to deceive, more than the Vulgar, as is testified by many Famous Physicians, and others. And as for that proof of Multitudes of Confessions, this Countrey may be by this time thought Competent Judges, what credence we ought to give them, having had such numerous Instances, as also how obtain'd.*

And now Sir, if herein be any thing in your esteem valuable, let me intreat you, not to account it the worse for coming from so mean a hand; which however you may have receiv'd Prejudices, &c. *Am ready to serve you to my Power; but if you Judge otherwise hereof, you may take your own Methods for my better Information. Who am, Sir, yours to command, in what I may,* P. C.

In Answer to this last, Sir, you replyed to the Gentleman that presented it, that you had nothing to Prosecute against me; and said as to your Sentiments in your Books, you did not bind any to believe them, and then again renew'd your promise of meeting me, as before, tho' not yet performed. Accordingly, tho' I waited at Sessions, there was none to object ought against me, upon which I was dismissed. This gave me some reason to believe that you intended all should have been forgotten; But instead of that, I find the Coals are fresh blown up, I being supposed to be represented, in a late Manuscript, *More Wonders of the*, &c. as Traversing your Discourse in your Faithful discharge of your Duty, &c. And such as see not with the Authors Eyes, rendred *Sadducees* and *Witlins*, &c. and the Arguments that square not with the Sentiments there-

herein contain'd, Buffoonary; rarely no doubt, agreeing with the Spirit of Christ, and his dealings with an unbelieving *Thomas*, yet whose infidelity was without compare less excusable, but the Author having resolved long since, to have no more than one single Grain of Patience, with them that deny, *&c.* the Wonder is the less. It must needs be that offences come, but wo to him by whom they come. To vindicate my self therefore from such false Imputations, of *Satan-like* insinuations, and misrepresenting your Actions, *&c.* and to vindicate your self, Sir, as much as is in my Power from those Suggestions, said to be Insinuated, as if you wore not the Modesty, and Gravity, that becomes a Minister of the *Gospel*; which it seems, some that never saw the said Narratives, report them to contain; I say, Sir, for these reasons, I here present you with the first Coppy that ever was taken, *&c.* And purpose for a Weeks time to be ready, if you shall intimate your pleasure to wait upon you, either at the place formerly appointed, or any other that is indifferent to the End; that if there shall appear any defects in that Narrative, they may be amended.

Thus, Sir, I have given you a genuine account of my Sentiments and Actions in this Affair; and do request and pray, that if I err, I may be shewed it from *Scripture*, or sound *Reason*, and not by quotations out of *Virgil*, nor *Spanish Rhetorick*. For I find the *Witlings* mentioned, are so far from answering your profound questions, that they cannot so much as pretend to shew a distinction between Witchcraft in the Common notion of it, and Possession; Nor so much as to demonstrate that ever the *Jews* or primitive *Christians* did believe, that a Witch could send a Devil to Afflict her Neighbours; but to all these, Sir, (ye being the Salt of the Earth, *&c.*) I have reason to hope for a Satisfactory Answer to him, who is one that reverences your Person and Office; And am, Sir, yours to Command in what I may, *R. C.*

Boston, January the 15th, 169$\frac{4}{5}$.

Mr. *R. C.*

WHereas you intimate your desires, that what's not fairly, (I take it for granted you mean truly also,) represented in a Paper you lately sent me, containing a pretended Narrative of a Visit by my Father and self to an Afflicted Young woman, whom we apprehended to be under a *Diabolical Possession*, might be rectified: I have this to say, as I have often already said, that do I scarcely find any one thing in the whole Paper, whether respecting my Father or self, either fairly or truly represented. Nor can I think that any that know my Parents Circumstances, but must think him deserving a better Character by far, than this Narrative can be thought to give him. When the main design we managed in

Visiting the poor Afflicted Creature, was to prevent the Accusations of the Neighbourhood; can it be fairly represented that our design was to draw out such Accusations, which is the representation of the Paper. We have Testimonies of the best Witnesses and in Number not a few, That when we asked *Rule* whether she thought she knew who Tormented her? the Question was but an Introduction to the Solemn charges which we then largely gave, that she should rather Dye than tell the Names of any whom she might Imagine that she knew. Your Informers have reported the Question, and report nothing of what follows, as essential to the giving of that Question: And can this be termed a piece of fairness? Fair it cannot be, that when Ministers Faithfully and Carefully discharge their Duty to the Miserable in their Flock, little bits, scraps and shreds of their Discourses, should be tackt together to make them contemptible, when there shall be no notice of all the Necessary, Seasonable, and Profitable things that occur'd in those Discourses; And without which, the occasion of the lesser Passages cannot be understood; And yet I am furnished with abundant Evidences, ready to be Sworn, that will positively prove this part of unfairness, by the above mention'd Narrative, to be done both to my Father and self. Again, it seems not fair or reasonable that I should be expos'd, for which your self (not to say some others) might have expos'd me for, if I had not done, *Viz.* for discouraging so much Company from flocking about the Possest Maid, and yet, as I perswade my self, you cannot but think it to be good advice, to keep much Company from such haunted Chambers; besides the unfairness doth more appear, in that I find nothing repeated of what I said about the advantage, which the Devil takes from too much Observation and Curiosity.

In that several of the Questions in the Paper are so Worded, as to carry in them a presupposal of the things inquired after, to say the best of it is very unfair: But this is not all, the Narrative contains a number of Mistakes and Falshoods; which were they willful and design'd, might justly be termed gross Lies. The representations are far from true, when 'tis affirm'd my Father and self being come into the Room, I began the Discourse; I hope I understand breeding a little better than so: For proof of this, did occasion serve, sundry can depose the contrary.

'Tis no less untrue, that either my Father or self put the Question, How many Witches sit upon you? We always cautiously avoided that expression; It being contrary to our inward belief: All the standers by will (I believe) Swear they did not hear us use it (your Witnesses excepted) and I tremble to think how hardy those woful Creatures must be, to call the Almighty by an Oath, to so false a thing. As false a representation 'tis, that I rub'd *Rule's* Stomach, her Breast not being covered. The Oath of the neareſt Spectators, giving a true account of that matter will

will prove this to be little less than a gross (if not a doubled) Lie; and to be somewhat plainer, it carries the Face of a Lie contrived on purpose (by them at least, to whom you are beholden for the Narrative) Wickedly and Basely to expose me. For you cannot but know how much this Representation hath contributed, to make People believe a Smutty thing of me; I am far from thinking, but that in your own Conscience you believe, that no indecent Action of that Nature could then be done by me before such observers, had I been so Wicked as to have been inclin'd to what is Base. It looks next to impossible that a reparation should be made me for the wrong done to, I hope, as to any Scandal, an unblemish'd, tho' weak and small Servant of the Church of God. Nor is what follows a less untruth, that 'twas an Attendant and not my self who said, if *Rule* knows who Afflicts her, yet she wont tell. I therefore spoke it that I might incourage her to continue in that concealment of all Names whatsoever; to this I am able to furnish my self with the Attestation of Sufficient Oaths. 'Tis as far from true, that my apprehension of the Imp, about *Rule*, was on her Belly, for the Oaths of the Spectators, and even of those that thought they felt it, can testify that 'twas upon the Pillow, at a distance from her Body. As untrue a Representation is that which follows, *Viz.* That it was said unto her, that her not Apprehending of that odd palpable, tho' not visible, Mover was from her Fancy, for I endeavoured to perswade her that it might be but Fancy in others, that there was any such thing at all. Witnesses every way sufficient can be produced for this also. 'Tis falsely represented that my Father felt on the Young-woman after the appearance mentioned, for his hand was never near her; Oath can sufficiently vindicate him. 'Tis very untrue, that my Father Prayed for perhaps half an Hour, against the power of the Devil and Witchcraft, and that God would bring out the Afflictors. Witnesses of the best Credit, can depose, that his Prayer was not a quarter of an Hour, and that there was no more than about one clause towards the close of the Prayer, which was of this import; And this clause also was guarded with a singular wariness and modesty, *Viz.* If there were any evil Instruments in this matter God would please to discover them: And that there was more than common reason for that Petition I can satisfie any one that will please to Inquire of me. And strange it is, that a Gentleman that from 18 to 54 hath been an Exemplary Minister of the Gospel; and that besides a station in the Church of God, as considerable as any that his own Country can afford, hath for divers years come off with Honour, in his Application to three Crown'd Heads, and the chiefest Nobility of three Kingdoms, Knows not yet how to make one short Prayer of a quarter of an hour, but in *New-England* he must be Libell'd for it. There are divers other down-right mistakes, which you have

have permitted your self, I would hope, not knowingly, and with a Malicious design, to be receiver or Compiler of, which I shall now forbear to Animadvert upon. As for the Appendix of the Narrative, I do find my self therein Injuriously treated, for the utmost of your proof for what you say of me, amounts to little more than, *viz.* Some People told you, that others told them, that such and such things did pass, but you may assure your self, that I am not unfurnish'd with Witnesses, that can convict the same. Whereas you would give me to believe the bottom of these your Methods, to be some dissatisfaction about the commonly receiv'd Power of *Devils* and *Witches*; I do not only with all freedom offer you the use of any part of my Library, which you may see cause to peruse on that Subject, but also if you and any else, whom you please, will visit me at my Study, yea, or meet me at any other place, less inconvenient than those by you propos'd; I will with all the fairness and calmness in the World dispute the point. I beg of God that he would bestow as many Blessings on you, as ever on my self, and out of a sincere wish, that you may be made yet more capable of these Blessings, I take this occasion to lay before you the faults (not few nor small ones neither) which the Paper contained, you lately sent me in order to be Examined by me. In case you want a true and full Narrative of my Visit, whereof such an indecent Travesty (to say the best) hath been made, I am not unwilling to communicate it, in mean time must take liberty to say, 'Tis scarcely consistent with Common Civility, much less Christian Charity, to offer the Narrative, now with you, for a true one, till you have a truer, or for a full one, till you have a fuller. Your Sincere (tho Injur'd) Friend and Servant, *C. Mather.*

The Copy of a Paper Receiv'd with the above Letter.

I Do Testifie that I have seen *Margaret Rule* in her Afflictions from the Invisible World, lifted up from her Bed, wholly by an Invisible force, a great way towards the top of the Room where she lay; in her being so lifted, she had no Assistance from any use of her own Arms or Hands, or any other part of her Body, not so much as her Heels touching her Bed, or resting on any support whatsoever. And *I* have seen her thus lifted, when not only a strong Person hath thrown his whole weight a cross her to pull her down; but several other Persons have endeavoured, with all their might, to hinder her from being so raised up, which *I* suppose that several others will testifie as well as my self, when call'd unto it. Witness my Hand, *Samuel Aves.*

WE can also Testifie to the substance of what is above Written, and have several times seen *Margaret Rule* so lifted up from her Bed, as that

that she had no use of her own Lims to help her up, but it was the declared apprehension of us, as well as others that saw it, impossible for any hands, but some of the Invisible World to lift her,

Robert Earle.
John Wilkins.
Dan. Williams.

Copia.

WE whose Names are under-writted do testifie, That one Evening when we were in the Chamber where *Margaret Rule* then lay, in her late Affliction, we observed her to be, by an Invisible Force, lifted up from the Bed whereon she lay, so as to touch the Garret Floor, while yet neither her Feet, nor any other part of her Body rested either on the Bed, or any other support, but were also by the same force, lifted up from all that was under her, and all this for a considerable while, we judg'd it several Minutes; and it was as much as several of us could do, with all our strength to pull her down. All which happened when there was not only we two in the Chamber, but we suppose ten or a dozen more, whose Names we have forgotten, *Thomas Thornton.*

Copia.

William Hudson *Testifies to the substance of* Thorntons *Testimony, to which he also hath set his Hand.*

Mr. *Cotton Mather,* *Boston* Jan. 18 1693

Reverend SIR,

YOurs of the 15*th.* Instant, I receiv'd yesterday; and soon found I had promised my self too much by it, *Viz,* Either concurrence with, or a denial of those Fundamentals mentioned in mine, of *Novem.* the 24*th.* finding this waved by an Invitation to your Library, *&c.* I thank God I have the Bible, and do Judge that sufficient to demonstrate that cited Head of Mr. *Gaule,* to be a Truth, as also those other Heads mentioned, as the Foundations of Religion. And in my apprehension, if it be asked any Christian, whether God governs the World, and whether it be he only can Commissionate Devils, and such other Fundamentals, He ought to be as ready as in the Question, who made him? (a little Writing certainly might be of more use, to clear up the controverted points, than either looking over many Books in a well furnish'd Library, or than a dispute, if I were qualified for it; the Inconveniencies of Passion being this way best avoided) And am not without hopes that you will yet oblige me so far, as to consider that Letter, and if I Err, to let me see it by Scripture, *&c.*

Yours, almost the whole of it, is concerning the Narrative I sent to you, and you seem to intimate as if I were giving Characters, Reflections,

ons, and Libell's, *&c.* concerning your self and Relations; all which were as far from my thoughts, as ever they were in writing after either your self, or any other Minister. In the front you declare your apprehension to be, that the Afflicted was under a Diabolical Possession, and if so, I see not how it should be occasion'd by any Witchcraft (unless we ascribe that Power to a Witch, which is only the Prerogative of the Almighty, of Sending or Commissionating the Devils to Afflict her.) But to your particular Objections against the Narrative; and to the first my intelligence not giving me any further, I could not insert that *I* knew not. And it seems improbable that a Question should be put, whether she knew (or rather who they were) and at the same time to charge her, and that upon her Life, not to tell, and if you had done so, *I* see but little good you could promise your self or others by it, she being Possest, as also having it inculcated so much to her of Witchcraft. And as to the next Objection about company flocking, *&c.* *I* do profess my *I*gnorance, not knowing what you mean by it. And Sir, that most of the Questions did carry with them a presupposing the things inquired after, is evident, if there were such as those relating to the *Black-man* and a Book, and about her hearing the Prayer, *&c.* (related in the said Narrative, which *I* find no Objection against.) As to that which is said of mentioning your self first discourfings and your hopes that your breeding was better (*I* doubt it not) nor do *I* doubt your Father might first apply himself to others; but my intelligence is, that you first spake to the Afflicted or Possessed, for which you had the advantage of a nearer approach. The next two Objections are founded upon mistakes: *I* find not in the Narrative any such Question, as how many Witches sit upon you? and that her Breast was not covered, in which those material words, (with the Bed-Cloaths) are wholly omited; *I* am not willing to retort here your own Language upon you; but can tell you, that your own discourse of it publickly, at Sir *W. P*'s Table, has much more contributed to, *&c.* As to the Reply, if she could she would not tell, whether either or both spake it it matters not much. Neither does the Narrative say you felt the live thing on her Belly; tho *I* omit now to say what further demonstrations there are of it. As to that Reply, that is only her fancy, *I* find the word (her) added. And as to your Fathers feeling for the live Creature after you had felt it, if it were on the Bed it was not so very far from her. And for the length of his Prayer, possibly your Witnesses might keep a more exact account of the time than those others, and *I* stand not for a few Minutes. For the rest of the Objections *I* suppose them of less moment, if less can be (however shall be ready to receive them, those matters of greatest concern *I* find no Objection against) these being all that yet appear, it may be thought that if the Narrative be not fully

fully exact, it was as near as Memory could bear away; but should be glad to see one more perfect (which yet is not to be expected, seeing none writ at the time) You mention the appendix, by which *I* understand the Second Visit, and if you be by the possessed belyed (as being half an hour with her alone (excluding her own Mother) and as telling her you had Prayed for her Nine times that day, and that now was her Laughing time, she must Laugh now) *I* can see no Wonder in it,; what can be expected less from the Father of Lies, by whom, you Judge, she was possest.

And besides the above Letter, you were pleased to send me another Paper containing several Testimonies of the Possessed being lifted up, and held a space of several Minutes to the Garret floor, *&c.* but they omit giving the account, whether after she was down they bound her down: or kept holding her: And relate not how many were to pull her down, which hinders the knowledge what number they must be to be stronger than an Invisible Force. Upon the whole, I suppose you expect I should believe it; and if so, the only advantage gain'd, is that which has been so long controverted between Protestants and Papists, whether Miracles are ceast, will hereby seem to be decided for the latter; it being, for ought I can see, if so, as true a Miracle as for Iron to swim, and that the Devil can work such Miracles.

But Sir, leaving these little disputable things, *I* do again pray that you would let me have the happiness of your approbation or confutation of that Letter before referred to.

And now, Sir, that the God of all Grace may enable us Zealously to own his Truths, and to follow those things that tend to Peace, and that your self may be as an useful Instrument in his hand, effectually to ruin the remainders of Heathenish and Popish Superstitions, is the earnest desire and prayer of yours to command, in what I may,

R. C.

Postscript.

Sir, I here send you the Coppy of a paper that lately came to my Hands, which tho' it contains no Wonders, yet is remarkable, and Runs thus.

An account of what an *Indian* told Captain *Hill*, at *Saco-Fort*.

THE Indian *told him that the* French *Ministers were better than the English, for before the* French *came among them there were a great many Witches among the* Indians, *but now there were none, and there were much Witches among the* English *Ministers, as* Burroughs, *who was Hang'd for it.*

Were *I* disposed to make reflections upon it, *I* suppose you will Judge the Field large, enough, but *I* forbear, as above.

R. C.

Mr. *Cotton Mather.* Boston Feb. *the* 19th. 1693.

REverend Sir, Having received as yet no Answer to mine of *Novem.* the 24th. except an offer to peruse Books, *&c.* relating to the Doctrinals therein contain'd: Nor to my last of *January* the 18th. *In* which *I* did again pray that if *I* err'd *I* might be shewed it by Scripture, *Viz.* in believing that the Devils bounds are sett, which he cannot pass; That the Devils are so full of Malice that it cant be added to by Mankind: That where he hath power he neither can nor will omit Executing it; That it's only the Almighty that sets bounds to his rage, and that only can commissionate him to hurt or destroy any; And consequently to detest as erroneous and dangerous, the belief that a Witch can Commissionate Devils to Afflict Mortals; That he can at his or the Witches pleasure assume any shape: That Hanging or Chaining of Witches can lessen his Power of Afflicting, and restore those that were, at a distance, Tormented by him. And whether Witchcraft ought to be understood now in this Age, to be the same that it was when the Divine Oracles were given forth, particularly, those quoted by Mr. *Gaule* in that cited Head (*Wonders of the Invisible World*; Mr. *Gaules* IV. Head, to discover Witches) which do so plainly shew a Witch, in Scripture-sense to be one that maligne, *&c.* And that pretend to give a Sign in order to seduce, *&c.* For I have never understood in my time, any such have Suffered as Witches, tho' sufficiently known; But the only Witch now inquired after, is one that is said to become so by making an Explicit Covenant with the Devil, *i. e.* the Devil appearing to them, and making a compact mutually, promising each to other, testified by their signing his Book, a material Book, which he is said to keep, and that thereby they are Intituled to a power, not only to Afflict others, but such as is truly exorbitant, if not highly intrenching upon the prerogative of him who is the Soveraign being; For who is he that saith, and it cometh to pass, when the Lord commandeth it not.

Such explicit Covenant being as is said in this Age reckoned essential to compleat a Witch: Yet I finding nothing of such covenant (or power thereby obtain'd) in Scripture, and yet a Witch therein so fully describ'd, do pray that if there be any such Scriptures I may be directed to them, for as to the many Legends in this case I make no account of them; I Read indeed of a Covenant with Death and with Hell, but suppose that to be in the Heart (or *Mental*) only, and see not what use such explicit one can be of between Spirits, any further than as 'tis a Copy of that *Mental* which is in the Heart. The dire effects and consequences of such notions may be found written in indellible *Roman* Characters of Blood in all Countreys where they have prevail'd, and what can less be ex-

expected when Men are Indicted for that, which, as 'tis impossible to prove so, for any to clear himself off, *Viz*, Such explicit Covenant with the Devil, and then for want of better Evidence, must take up with such as the Nature of such secret Covenant can bear, as Mr. *Gaule* hath it, *i. e.* Distracted Stories, and strange and Foreign Events, *&c.* Thereby endeavouring to find it, tho by it's but supposed effects; By the same Rules that one is put to purge himself of such Compact, by the same may all Mankind.

This then being so Important a case, it concerns all to know what Foundations in Scripture is laid for such a Structure; For if they are deficient of that Warrant, the more Eminent the Architects are the more dangerous are they thereby rendered, *&c.* These are such considerations as I think will vindicate me in the esteem of all Lovers of Humanity, in my endeavours to get them cleared. And to that End, do once more pray, that you would so farr oblige me as to give your Approbation or Confutation of the above Doctrinals; But if you think silence a Vertue in this case, I shall (I suppose) so far comply with it as not to loose you any more time to look over my papers. And if any others will so far oblige me, I shall not be ungrateful to them; Praying God to guide and prosper you, I am, Sir, yours to my power,

[*He that doth Truth, cometh to the Light.*] *R. C.*

Mr. *Cotton Mather.* Boston April *the 16th.* 1694.

REverend Sir, Having as yet Received no Answer to my last, touching the Doctrinals therein referred to, tho' at the delivery of it, you were pleased to promise the Gentleman that presented it, that I should have it, and after that you acquainted the same Gentleman that you were about it. The length of time since those promises, makes me suppose you are preparing something for the Press (for I would not question your veracity do think it may not be amiss, when you do any thing of that Nature for the publick view, that you also explain some passages of some late Books of yours and your Relations, which are hard to be understood, to Instance in a few of many Wonders of the *Invisible-World*, pag. 17. [Plagues *are some of these woes with which the Devil causes our Trouble*, pag. 18. *Hence come such Plagues as that besom of destruction which within our Memory swept away such a throng of People from one* English City, *in one Visitation.* Wars *are some of those woes with which the Devil causes our Trouble*, pag. 16. *Hence 'tis that the Devil like a Dragon keeping a Guard upon such Fruits as would refresh a Languishing World, has hindered Mankind for many Ages from hitting upon those usefull Inventions. The Benighted World must Jogg on for thousands of Tears, without the knowledge of the Load-stone, Printing and Spectacles*, pag. 10; *It is*

not likely that every Devil does know every Language. Tis prſſible the Experience, or if I may call it ſo, the Education of all Devils is not alike; *Caſes of Conſcience*, pag, 63. *The Devil has inflicted on many the Diſeaſe call'd* Lycanthropia.

Memor. provid. Relat. To Witch Diſc. on Wit. pag, 24. *I am alſo apt to think that the Devils are ſeldom able to hurt us in any of our exteriour concerns, without a Commiſſion from ſome of our fellow Worms. when foul Mouth'd Men ſhall wiſh harm to their Neighbours, they give a Commiſſion to the Devil to perform what they deſire, and if God ſhould not Mercifully prevent, they would go thro' with it*; *Hear this you that in wilde Paſſion will give every thing to the Devil*; *Hear it you that beſpeak a Rot, a Pox, or a Plague, on all that ſhall provoke you*; *I here Indict you as Guilty of Helliſh Witchcraft in the Sight of God.* More Wonders of the Inviſible World, *pag.* 49. *They each of them have their Spectres or Devils Commiſſioned by them and repreſenting of them*, pag. 14. *But ſuch a permiſſion from God for the Devil to come down and break in upon Mankind, muſt often times be accompanied with a Commiſſion from ſome of Mankind it ſelf*, Inchantments Encountered. *Theſe Witches have driven a Trade of Commiſſionating their confederate Spirits, to do all ſorts of Miſchiefs to their Neighbours*, pag. 50. *They have bewitched ſome even ſo farr, as to make them Self-deſtroyers*, pag. 144. *As I am abundantly ſatisfied, that many of the Self-murders committed here, have been the effects of a cruel and Bloody Witchcraft, letting fly* Dæmons *upon the Miſerable Seneca's*, pag, 51. *We have ſeen ſome of their Children ſo Dedicated to the Devil, that in their Infancy the Imps have Sucked them.* Caſes of Conſcience, *pag.* 24. *They bequeath their* Dæmons *to their Children as a Legacy, by whom they are often aſſiſted to ſee and do things beyond the Power of Nature*, pag. 21. *There are in* Spain *a ſort of People call'd* Zahurs, *that can ſee into the Bowels of the Earth. On* Tueſdays *and* Fridays] (And to add) that in pag. 49. The words are [*For the Law of God allows of no Revelation from any other Spirit but himſelf, Iſa.* 8. 19. *It is a Sin againſt God to make uſe of the Devils help, to know that which cannot be otherways known*; *And I teſtify againſt it as a great tranſgreſſion, which may Juſtly provoke the Holy one of* Iſrael, *to let looſe Devils on the whole Land.* Altho the Devils Accuſation may be ſo far regarded, as to cauſe an inquiry into the Truth of things, *Job.* 1. 11, 12. and 2, 5, 6. *Yet not ſo as to be an Evidence or Ground of Conviction, for the Devils Teſtimony ought not to be taken in WHOLE Nor In PART*] It is a known Truth, that ſome unwary expreſſions of the primitive Fathers, were afterwards improved for the Introducing and eſtabliſhing of Error, as their calling the Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of God, *&c.* Hence occaſion and Advantage was taken to propagate the Idolizing of her (the like might be ſaid of the *Euchar-*

rist, these assertions, above rehearsed, being apparently liable to a like Male Construction, and no less dangerous, are therefore as I said highly needful to be explain'd, and that in a most publick manner. For were they to be understood Litterally and as they are spoken, it must seem as if the Authors were Introducing among Christians very dangerous Doctrines, such, as were they asserted by the best of Men, yet ought to be rejected by all, *&c. Viz.* That 'tis the Devil that brings the most of Evils upon Mankind, by way of Infliction, that do befall them; And that the Witch can Commissionate him to the performance of these, with many others as dangerous Doctrines, and such as seem in their tendency to look favourably upon the Antient *Pagan* Doctrine of this Countrey, who did believe that God did hurt to none, but Good to all, but that the Devil must be pleas'd by Worshipping, *&c.* From whom came all their Miseries, as they believed. For what were all this but to Rob God of his Glory in the highest manner, and giving it to a Devil and a Witch; Is it not he that has said shall there be Evil in a City and the Lord hath not done it? But if any are fond of their own notions because some Eminent Men have before now asserted them; they may do well to compare them with that excellent Saying, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, pag. 7. *About this Devil there are many things, whereof we may reasonably and profitably be inquisitive, such things I mean as are in our Bibles reveal'd to us; according to which if we do not speak on so dark a Subject, but according to our own uncertain and perhaps Humoursom Conjectures, there is no Light in us.* Or that other, pag. 75. *At every other Weapon the Devil will be too hard for us*] For 'tis most certain that other Notions, Weapons and Practices have been taken up with; And that the event has been answerable, the Devil has been too hard for such as have so done. I shall forbear to instance from the Dogmatical part, and shall mention some practices that as much need explaining. *Mem: provid. Relat. to Witch. pag.* 29, 30, 31. Where account is given that it was Pray'd for that the afflicted might be able to declare, whom she apprehended herself Afflicted by, together with the Immediate Answer of such Prayer. To this you once Reply'd when it was mentioned to you, that you did not then understand the wiles of *Satan.*

To which I have nothing to object, but it might be a good Acknowledgment; But considering that the Book is gone forth into all the World, cannot but think the Salve ought to be proportion'd to the Sore, and the notice of the Devils wiles as Universal, as the means recommending them. Another Practice is *pag.* 20, 21. [*there was one singular passion that frequently attended her, an Invisible Chain would be clapt about her, and she in much pain and fear cry out when they began to put it on, once I did with my own hand knock it off as it began to be fastned about her*]

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If this were done by the Power or Vertue of any ord'nance of Divine Institution, it is well, but would have been much better if the Institution had been demonstrared, or was there any Physical Vertue in that particular Hand. But supposing that neither of these will be asserted by the Author, *I* do think it very requisite, that the World may be acquainted with the Operation, and to what Art or Craft to refer their Power of Knocking off of *Invisible Chains*.

And thus, Sir, I have Faithfully discharged (what in this I took to be my Duty) and am soo far from doing it to gain applause, or from a Spirit of Contradiction, that I expect to procure me many Enemies thereby, (but as in case of a Fire) where the Glory of God, and the Good and Wellfare of Man-kind are so nearly concern'd, I thought it my duty to be no longer an Idle Spectator; And can, and do say, to the Glory of God, in this whole Affair, *I* have endeavoured a Conscience voide of offence, both towards God and towards Man; And therein at the least have the advantage of such as are very Jealous they have done so much herein, as to Sin in what they have done, *viz.* In sheltring the Accused, such have been the Cowardice and Fearfulness, whereunto the regard to the Dissatisfaction of other People have precipitated them; Which by the way must needs acquaint all, that for the future other measures are resolved upon (by such) which how Bloody they may prove when opportunity shall offer, is with him who orders all things, according to the counsel of his own Will: And now that the Song of Angels may be the Emulation of Men, is the earnest Desire, and Prayer, of Sir, Yours to Command in what I may,

Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth
Peace and Good Will towards Men. *R. C.*

Mr. *B.* *Boston*, March *the 1st.* 1694.

Worthy Sir,

After more than a Years waiting for the performance of a reiterated promise from one under singular obligations, and a multitude of advantages to have done it sooner, The utmost compliance I have mett with, is (by your Hands) the sight of four Sheets of recinded Papers, but I must first be obliged to return them in a Fortnight, and not Copied, which I have now complied with: And having read them am not at all Surprized at the Authors Caution in it, not to admit of such crude matter and impertinent absurdities, as are to be found in it to spread. He seems concern'd that I take no notice of his several Books, wherein, as he saith, he has unanswerably proved things to which I might reply, that I have sent him Letters of quotations out of those Books, to know how much of them he will abide by, for I thought it hard to affix their

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Natural consequences till he had opportunity to explain them. And saith that he had sent me (Mr. Baxters *Worlds of Spirits*) an ungainsayable Book, *&c.* (tho I know no ungainsayable Book, but the Bible) which Book I think no Man that has read it will give such a Title to but the Author, he speaks of my reproaching his publick Sermons, of which I am not conscious to my self, unless it be about his interpretation of a *Thunder Storm* (that broke into his House) which savoured so much of Enthusiasm.

As to those papers, I have (as I read them) noted in the Margin where, in a hasty reading, I thought it needful, of which it were unreasonable for him to complain; seeing I might not take a Copy, thereby to have been inabled, more at leasure to digest what were needfull to be said on so many Heads; and as I have not flatter'd him, so for telling what was so needful, with the hazard of making so many Enemies by it, I have approved my self one of his best Friends: And besides his own sense of the weakness of his Answer, testified by the prohibition above, he has wholly declined answering to most of those things that I had his promise for, and what he pretends to speak to, after mentioning, without the needful Answer or Proof drops it.

His first main Work is after his definition of a Witch, which he never proves (without saying any thing to Mr. *Gauls* Scriptural description, tho' so often urged to it, and tho' himself has in his Book recommended and quoted it) is to magnifie the Devils Power, and that as I think beyond and against the Scripture, this takes him up about 11 *Pages*, and yet in *Page* 22 again returns to it, and as I understand it, takes part with the *Pharisees* against our Saviour in the Argument, for they charge him that he cast out Devils thro' *Beelzebub*, Our Saviours Answer is, *Mat.* 12, 25. *Every Kingdom divided against it self is brought to desolation; and every City or House divided against it self, shall not stand, and if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself, how shall then his Kingdom stand:* And yet notwithstanding this Answer together with what follows, for further Illustration, our Author is it seems resolved to assert, that our Saviour did not in this Answer deny that many did so, *Viz.*) cast out Devils by *Beelzebub*, and *Page* 23 grants that the Devils have a Miraculous Power, but yet must not be call'd Miracles, and yet can be distinguished, as he intimates, only by the Conscience or Light within, to the no small scandal of the Christian Religion.

Tho' our Saviour and his Apostles accounts this the chief or principal proof of his Godhead, *John* 20. 30, 31. *John* 10. 37, 38. *John* 5. 36. *Mark* 16. 17, 18. *Acts* 2. 22. *and* 4, 30. with many others and that Miracles belong only to God, who also Governs the World, *Psal.* 136. 4. *Jer.* 14. 22. *Isa.* 38. 8. *Psal.* 62. 11. *Lam.* 3. 37. *Amos.* 3. 6.

But

But to forbear quoting that which the Scripture is most full in, do only say that he that dares assert the Devil to have such a Miraculous Power had need have other Scriptures than ever I have seen. In *Page* 12. our Author proceeds and states a question to this effect, If the Devil has such Powers, and cant exert them without permission from God, what can the Witch contribute thereunto? Instead of an Answer, to this weighty objection, our Author first concedes, that the Devil do's ordinarily exert their Powers, without the Witches contributing to it, but yet that to the end to increase their guilt he may cheat a Witch, by making her believe her self the Author of them. His next is, if Witchcraft be, as *I* suppose it is, the skill of applying the Plastick Spirit of the World, *&c.* then the consent of the Witch doth naturally contribute to that mischiefs that the Devil does. And his last answer runs to this effect, *Is* it not the Ordination of God, that where the Devil can get the consent of a Witch for the hurting of others, the hurt shall as certainly be as if they had set Mastiff Dogs upon them, or had given them Poyson into their Bowels; and Gods Providence must be as great in delivering from one as from the other, and this it seems is not only his Belief, but the most Orthodox and most learned answer that our Author could pitch upon. If Witchcraft be as *I* suppose it is, *&c.* and is it not the Ordination of God, that, *&c.* What is all this but precarious, and begging the question, and a plain dropping the Argument he cannot manage; however, to amuse the *Ignorant*, and to confound the Learned, he hooks in a cramp word, if not a nonentity, *(viz.) Plastick* Spirit of the World, for who is it either knows that there is a *Plastick Spirit*, or what it is, or how this can any way serve his purpose.

He then proceeds to *Scripture* Instances of Witches, *&c.* and where *I* thought it needful, *I* have, as *I* said, shewed my dissent from his Judgment. He accounts it unreasonable to be held to the proof of his definition of a Witch, which he makes to consist in a Covenant with the *Devil*, and chuses rather a tedious process about a Pistol to defend him from it, which indeed is one particular way whereby *Murder* has been Committed, and so the Dore becomes Culpable; But his definition of a *Witch*, which as *I* said, still remains to be proved, is to this effect, That a *Witch* is one that Covenants with, and Commissions *Devils* to do mischiefs, that she is one in Covenant, or that by Vertue of such Covenant she can Commissionate him to Kill. The not bringing Scripture to prove these two, is a sufficient demonstration there is none; and so that our Author leaves off just where he began, *viz.* in a bare Assertion, together with his own Biggoted experiences, hinting also at multitudes of Histories to confirm him in the belief of his definition. Here being all that I take notice of to be considerable.

And

And now, Sir, If you think fit improve your Friendſhip with the Author for the Glory of God, the Soveraign Being, the good and welfare of *Man-kind*, and for his real and true Intereſt, as you ſee it convenient, put him in mind, That the Glory of God is the End why *Man-kind* was made, and why *He* hath ſo many Advantages to it. That the Flames we have ſeen threatning the utter extirpation of the Country, muſt own their Original to theſe dangerous Errors (if not Hereſies) which if they remain Unextinguiſhed, may and moſt likely will be acted over again.

That 'tis more Honour to own an Error in time, than tenaciouſly after full Conviction to retain it. But if our Author will again Vindicate ſuch matters, pleaſe to acquaint him, that I ſhall not any more receive his Papers, if I may not Copy and uſe them; and that when he does, inſtead of ſuch abſtruſe matters, I ſtill pray his determination in thoſe things I have his promiſe for. And thus begging Pardon for thus long detaining of you, I am, Sir, yours to Command,

R. C.

Boſton. *To the Miniſters, whether* Engliſh, French, *or* Dutch, March 18. 1694.

I Having had not only occaſion, but renewed provocation to take a view of the Myſterious Doctrines, which have of late been ſo much conteſted among us, could not meet with any that had ſpoken more, or more plainly the ſenſe of thoſe Doctrines (relating to the *Witchcraft*) than the Reverend *Mr. C. M.* but how clearly and conſiſtent, either with himſelf or the truth. I medle not now to ſay, but cannot but ſuppoſe his Strenuous and Zealous aſſerting his opinions, has been one cauſe of the diſmal Convulſions we have here lately fallen into; Suppoſing that his Books of *Memorable Providences*, relating to *Witchcraft*, as alſo his *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, did contain in them things not warrantable, and very dangerous, I ſent to him a Letter of Quotations out of thoſe Books, *&c.*

That ſo if it might have been, I might underſtand what tollerable Senſe he would put upon his own words, which I took to be a better way of Proceeding, than to have affixed what I thought to be their natural conſequences, and leſt I might be Judged a Sceptic I gave him a full and free account of my belief relating to thoſe Doctrines, together with the grounds thereof; And prayed him that if I err'd I might be ſhewed it by Scripture, and this I had his reiterated promiſe for. But after more than a Years waiting for the performance thereof, all that is done in compliance therewith, is that in *Feb.* laſt, he ſent me four ſheets of his writing as his belief, but before I might receive it I muſt engage to deliver it back in a Fortnight and not Copy'd. A Summary account

of which I ſhall give you, when I have firſt acquainted you what the Doctrines were which I ſent to him for his concurrence with, or confutation of, and to which I had his promiſe, as above.

There by way of Queſtion, (*Viz.*) whether that fourth Head cited and recommended by himſelf (In *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, of Mr. *Gauls*) ought to be believed as a truth, which runs thus; Among the moſt unhappy circumſtances to Convict a Witch, one is a Maligning and Oppugning the Word, Work, and Worſhip of God, and ſeeking by any Extraordinary ſign to ſeduce any from it, *Deu.* 13. 1, 2. *Mat.* 24. 24. *Acts* 13. 8, 10. 2 *Tim.* 3, 8. do but mark well the places, and for this very property of thus oppugning and perverting, they are all there concluded arrant and abſolute Witches.

And if in Witchcraft the Devil by means of a Witch does the Miſchief, how 'tis poſſible to diſtinguiſh it from Poſſeſſion, both being ſaid to be performed by the Devil, and yet without an Infallible diſtinction there can be no certainty in Judgment. And whether it can be proved that the *Jewiſh* Church in any Age before, or in our Saviours time, even in the time of their greateſt Apoſtacy did believe that a Witch had power to Commiſſionate Devils to do Miſchief.

So much to the Queſtions. Theſe were ſent as my belief: That the Devils bounds are ſett, that he cant paſs; That the Devils are ſo full of Malice, that it cant be added to by Mankind; That where he hath power he neither can nor will omit executing it; That 'tis only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and that only can Commiſſionate him to hurt or deſtroy. And now I ſhall give you the Summary account of his four ſheets above mention'd, as near as memory could recollect, in Ten Particulars.

1. That the Devils have in their Natures a power to work Wonders and Miracles; particularly that the *Phariſees* were not miſtaken in aſſerting that the Devils might be caſt out by *Beelzebub*; and that our Saviours Anſwer does not oppoſe that Aſſertion; and that he hath the Power of Death; that he can make the moſt Solid things Inviſible; and can Inviſibly bring Poyſon and force it down Peoples Throats.

2. That to aſſert this Natural, wonderful Power of the Devil, makes moſt for the Glory of God, in preſerving Man from its effects,

3. Yet this Power is reſtrained by the Almighty, as pleaſeth him.

4. That a Witch is one that makes a Covenant with the Devil.

5. That by vertue of ſuch a Covenant, ſhe arrives at a Power to Commiſſionate him,

6. That God has ordain'd, that when the Devil is call'd upon by the Witch, tho' he were before reſtrained by the Almighty, the deſired miſchiefs ordinarily ſhall as certainly be performed, as if the Witch had

lodged

lodged Poyſon in the Bowels of her Neighbour, or had ſet Maſtiff Dogs on them.

7. That the Witches Art of applying the *Plaſtic Spirit of the World* to unlawful purpoſes, does Naturally contribute to the miſchiefs done by the Devil.

8. That thatGod which reſtrain'd an *Abimelich* and a *Laban* from hurting, does alſo reſtrain the Witch from Calling upon or Improving the Devil, when he will not have his Power ſo exerted.

9. That to have a Familiar Spirit, is to be able to cauſe a Devil to take bodily ſhapes, whereby either to give reſponſes, or to receive orders for doing miſchief.

10. That this is the Judgment of moſt of the Divines in the Countrey, whether *Engliſh*, *Dutch or French.*

This as I ſaid, I took to be moſt material in the four ſheets ſent to me as his belief, and is alſo all the performance he has yet made of his ſeveral promiſes; which ten Articles being done only by memory, leſt thro' miſtake or want of the Original, I might have committed any errors, I ſent them to him that, if there were any, they might be rectified: But inſtead of ſuch an Anſwer, as might be expected from a Miniſter and a learn'd Gentleman, one Mr. *W---* ſhewed me a Letter writ by Mr. *C. M---* to himſelf, which I might read, but neither borrow nor Copy, and ſo, if I were minded, could give but a ſhort account of it.

And paſſing over his hard Language, which, as I am conſcious to my ſelf; I never deſerv'd (relating to my writing in the margin of the four ſheets; and to theſe ten Articles) ſo I hope I underſtand my Duty, better than to imitate him in retorting the like. Among his many words in his ſaid Letters, I meet with two ſmall Objections; one is againſt the word (*Miracle*) in the firſt Article, the word, I ſay, not the matter, for the works he attributes to the Devil are the ſame in their being above or againſt the Courſe of Nature and all Natural cauſes, yet he will not admit of theſe to be call'd Miracles, and hence he reckon's it the greateſt difficulty he meets with in this whole affair, to diſtinguiſh the works of the Devil from Miracles. And hence alſo he concedes to the Devil the Power to make the moſt Solid things Inviſible, and Inviſibly to bring Poyſon and force it down Peoples Throats, *&c.* Which I look upon to be as true Miracles as that. 2 *Kings* 6. 18. and this is the ſenſe I underſtand the word in, and in this ſenſe, he himſelf in the four ſheets admits it; for he has an objection to this effect, *Viz.* [If the Devils have ſuch power, *&c.* then Miracles are not ceas'd; and where are we then? (his Anſwer is) Where! even juſt where we were before, ſay I] ſo that it ſeems the only offence here is at my uſing his words. His ſecond objection (for weight) is againſt the whole ninth Article, and wonders

how 'tis possible for one Man so much to misunderstand another; Yet as I remember, he speaking of the Witch of *Endor* in the said four sheets says, she had a familiar Spirit, and that [a Spirit belonging to the Invisible World, upon her calling appear'd to *Saul*] *&c.* and if so 'tis certain he gave responses, he also tells of *Balaam*, that it was known that he could set Devils on People to destroy them, and therefore how this objection should bear any Force I see not; The rest of the objections are of so small weight that once reading may be sufficient to clear them up, and if this be not so, he can, when he pleases, by making it Publick together with the Margins I writ, Convince all People of the truth of what he asserts; But here 'tis to be noted, that the 2 *d.* 3 *d.* 4*th.* and 5*th.* Articles he concedes to, as having nothing to object against them, but that they are his belief; and that the 6*th.* and 7*th.* he puts for Answer to an objection which he thus frames, *Viz.* If the Devil have such powers but cannot exert them but by permission from God, what can the Witch contribute thereto. And thus I have faithfully performed what I undertook, and do solemnly declare, I have not intentionally in the least wronged the Gentleman concern'd, nor design'd the least blemish to his Reputation; but if it stands in competition with the Glory of God, the only Almighty Being, his truths and his Peoples welfare, I suppose these too valuable to be trampled on for his sake, tho' in other things I am ready to my power (tho' with denying some part of my own interest) to serve him. Had this Gentleman declin'd or detracted his four sheets, I see not but he might have done it, and which I think there was cause enough for him so to have done, but to own the four sheets, and at the same time to disown the Doctrine contain'd in them, and this knowing that I have no Copy, renders the whole of the worse aspect.

And now I shall give you a further account of my Belief, when I have first premised, that 'tis a prevailing Belief in this Countrey, and elsewhere, that the Scriptures are not full in the Description of, and in the way and means how to detect a Witch, tho positive in their Punishment to be by Death; and that hence they have thought themselves under a necessity of taking up with the Sentiments of such Men or Places that are thought worthy to give rules to detect them by: And have accordingly practised, *viz.* In searching for Tets for the Devil to suck; Trying whether the suspected can say the Lords Prayer; And whether the Afflicted falls at the sight, and rises at the touch of the supposed Witch; As also by the Afflicted or Possessed giving account who is the Witch.

Touching these my belief is, that 'tis highly Derogatory to the wisdom of the Wise Lawgiver, to assert, That he has given a Law by *Moses*, the Penalty whereof is Death; and yet no direction to his People, whereby to know and detect the culpable, till our *Triumvirate* Mr. *Perkins*,

Perkins, *Gaul*, and *Bernard*, had given us their receits, and that that fourth Head of Mr. *Gauls*, being so well prov'd by Scripture is a truth, and contains a full and clear Testimony, who are Witches culpable of Death, and that plainly and from Scripture, yet not excluding any other branch, when as well proved by that infallible rule. And that the going to the Afflicted or Possessed, to have them Divine who are Witches by their Specteral sight, is a great wickedness, even the Sin of *Saul* (for which he also Died) but with this difference, the one did it for Augury, or to know future Events, the other in order to take away Life; and that the searching for Tets; the experiment of their saying the Lords Prayer; the falling at the sight and rising at the touch of the supposed Criminal, being all of them foreign from Scripture, as well as reason, are abominations to be abhor'd and repented of. And that our *Salem* Witchcraft, either respecting the Judges and Juries, their tenderness of Life, or the Multitude and pertineney of witnesses, both Afflicted and Confessors, or the Integrity of the Historians, are as Authentic, and made as certain as any ever of that kind in the World; and yet who is it that now sees not through it, and that these were the Sentiments that have procured the sorest Affliction, and most lasting infamy that ever befel this Countrey, and most like so to do again, if the same notions be still entertain'd and finally that these are those last times, of which the Spirit speaks expresly, *Tim.* 4. 1. *And now ye that are Fathers in the Churches, Guides to the People, and the Salt of the Earth.*

I beseech you consider these things; and if you find the Glory of God diminisht by ascribing such power to Witches and Devils; His truths oppos'd by these notions; and his People aspersed in their Doctrines and Reputations, and indangered in their Lives; I dare not dictate to you; you know your duty as Watchmen, and the Lord be with you.

But if you find my belief contrary to sound Doctrine, I intreat you to shew it me by the Scripture; And in the mean time blame me not if I cannot believe that there are several Almighties; for to do all sorts of wonders, beyond and above the Course of Nature, is certainly the work of *Omnipotency*. So also, he that shall Commissionate or Impower to these, must also be Almighty; and I think it not a sufficient *Salvo*, to say they may be restrain'd by the most High; and hope you will not put any hard Construction on these my Endeavours to get information (all other ways failing) in things so needful to be known; praying the Almighties Guidance and protection, *I* am Yours to the utmost of my Power.

R. C.

Mr. Sam-

Mr. *Samuel Willard*, Boſton, *Sept. the 20th*, 1695.
Reverend Sir,

MY former of *March* the 18th. directed to the Miniſters (and which was lodg'd with your ſelf) containing ſeveral Articles, which I ſent as my belief, praying them if *I* ererd to ſhew it me by Scripture, *I* have as yet had no Anſwer to, either by word or writing, which makes me gather that they are approved of as *Orthodox*, or at leaſt that they have ſuch Foundations, as that none are willing to manifeſt any oppoſition to them: And therefore with ſubmiſſion, &c. I do think that that late ſeaſonable and well-deſign'd Dialogue intituled, *Some miſcellany Obſervations*, &c. of which, your ſelf is the ſuppos'd Author (and which was ſo ſerviceable in the time of it) is yet liable to a male conſtruction, even to the endangering to revive what it moſt oppoſes, and to bring thoſe practices again on Foot, which in the day thereof were ſo terrible to this whole Country: The words which *I* ſuppoſe ſo liable to Miſconſtruction, are *Pag.* 14. B. *Who informed them?* S. *The Spectre*, B. *very good, and that's the Devil turned Informer. How are good Men like to fare againſt whom he hath particular Malice!*

It is but a Preſumption, and Wiſe Men will weigh Preſumptions againſt Preſumptions. There is to be no Examination without grounds of Suſpicion. Some Perſons Credit ought to be accounted too good to be undermined ſo far as to be ſuſpected on ſo ſlight a ground: and it is an Injury done them to bring them upon Examination, which renders them openly Suſpected. I will not deny but for Perſons already ſuſpected and of Ill fame, it may occaſion their being examin'd. In which theſe words ('tis but a preſumption, &c.) (and ſome Perſons credit, &c.) (and *I* will not deny but for Perſons already ſuſpected, &c.) this *I* take to be waving to diſcuſs thoſe points, the ſpeaking to which might at that time have hindered the uſefulneſs and ſucceſs of that Book, rather than any declaring the Sentiments of the Author. But notwithſtanding many Perſons will be ready to underſtand this, as if the Author did wholly leave it with the Juſtice, to Judge who are Ill Perſons, ſuch as the Devils Accuſations may faſten upon; And that the Devils Accuſation of a Perſon, is a Preſumption againſt them of their guilt; and that upon ſuch preſumptions, they may be had to Examination, if the Juſtice counts them Perſons of ill fame (for the Author I ſuppoſe knows that the bear Examination will leave ſuch a ſtain upon them, and well if their Poſterity eſcape it!) as the length of a Holy and unblameable Life will be found too ſhort to Extirpate. And if the Juſtice may go thus far with the Devils Evidence, then the addition of a ſtory or two of ſome Cart overſet, or perſon taken Sick after a quarrel, might as well be thought ſufficient for their Commitment, in order to

their

their Tryal as 'tis call'd (tho' this too often has been more like a Stage Play, or a *Tragicomical Scene*) and so that otherways useful Book, may prove the greatest Snare to revive the same practices again.

These things being so liable, as I said, to such male construction, it were needful that Men might be undeceiv'd, and the matter more fully demonstrated, *(Viz.)* That the Devils Accusation is not so much as any presumption against the Life or Reputation of any person, for how are good Men like to fare, if his malicious accusations may be taken as a presumption of their Guilt; and that his acusations as they are no presumption against persons of unspotted Fame, so neither are they to be heard, or any ways regarded, against persons tho' otherways of ill Life, much less for their having long since had their Names abused by his outcries, or by the Malice of Ill Neighbours; and that Justice knows no difference of Persons; that if this Evidence be sufficient to bring one person 'tis so to bring any other to Examination, and consequently to the utmost extent of odium, which such Examination will certainly expose them to, for who can know any other, but that as the one may be Maliciously accused by Devils and a Deviliſh report gone before it; so that another who has not been so much as accused before, being more Cunning or more seeming Religious, might yet be more guilty; the whole depending upon Invisible Evidence, of which invisible stuff tho' we have had more than sufficient, yet I find (among other Reverend Persons) your Names to a certain Printed Paper, which runs thus,

Certain Proposals *made by the President and Fellows of* Harvard *College, To the Reverend Ministers of the* Gospel, *in the several Churches of* New-England.

1. First, *To observe and record the more Illustrious Discoveries of the Divine Providence, in the Government of the World, is a design so holy, so useful, so justly approved, that the too general neglect of it in the Churches of God, is as justly to be Lamented.*

2. *For the redress of that neglect, altho' all Christians have a Duty incumbent on them, yet it is in a peculiar manner to be recommended unto the Ministers of the* Gospel, *to improve the special advantages which are in their hands, to obtain and preserve the knowledge of such notable occurrences as are to be sought out by all that have pleasure in the great Works of the Lord.*

3. *The things to be esteemed Memorable, are especially all unusual accidents in the Heaven, or Earth, or Water, All wonderful Deliverances of the Distressed, Mercies to the Godly, Judgments on the Wicked, and more Glorious fulfillments of either the Promises or Threatnings in the Scriptures of Truth, Such Apparitions, Possessions, Enchantments, and all extraordinary things, wherein the Existence and Agency of the Invisible World is more sensibly demonstrated.*

4. It

4. *It is therefore Propoſed, That the Miniſters throughout this Land, would manifeſt their Pious regards unto the Works of the Lord, and the Opperation of his hands, by reviving their cares to take Written Accounts of ſuch* Remarkables: *But ſtill well Atteſted with credibled and ſufficient Witneſs.*

5. *It is deſired that the Accounts thus taken of theſe Remarkables, may be ſent in unto the* Preſident, *or the* Fellows *of the Colledge, by whome they ſhall be carefully reſerved for ſuch a uſe to be made of them, as may by ſome fit Aſſembly of Miniſters be Judged moſt conducing to the Glory of God, and the Service of his People.*

6. *Tho' we doubt not, that love to the Name of God will be motive enough unto all good Men, to Contribute what Aſſiſtance they can unto this Undertaking; yet for further Incouragement, ſome ſingular Marks of Reſpects ſhall be ſtudied for ſuch good Men, as will actually aſſiſt it, by taking pains to Communicate any Important Paſſages proper to be inſerted in this Collection.*

Cambr. March 5. 169¾

Increaſe Mather, Preſident.
James Allen, *Char. Morton*, *Sam. Willard*, *Cotton Mather*, } *John Leverett*, *Will. Brattle*, *Neh. Walter*, } Fellows.

Here being an Encouragement to all good Men, to ſend in ſuch remarkables as are therein expreſſed, I have ſent in the following, not that I think them a more ſenſible demonſtration of the being of a future State (with rewards and Puniſhments) or of Angels good and bad, *&c.* than the Scriptures of truth hold forth, *&c.* Or than any of thoſe other demonſtrations God has given us; for this were Treacherouſly and Perfidiouſly to quit the Poſt to the Enemy; the *Saducee*, *Deiſt*, and *Atheiſt* would hereby be put in a condition ſo Triumphantly to deny the Exiſtence and Agency thereof. As that a few Sories told (which at beſt muſt be owned to be fallible and liable to miſrepreſentations) could not be thought Infallibly ſufficient to demonſtrate the truth againſt them. I have heard that in Logick a falſe Argument is reckon'd much worſe than none; Yet ſuppoſing that a Collection of Inſtances may be many ways uſeful, not only to the preſent but ſucceeding Ages, I have ſent you the following remarkables, which have lately occurred, the certainty of which, if any ſcruple it, will be found no hard matter to get ſatisfaction therein: But here, not to inſiſt on thoſe leſs occurrents, as the ſudden Death of one of our late Juſtices, and a like Mortallity that fell upon the two Sons of another of them, with the Fall of a Man that was making proviſion to raiſe the New Northern Bell, which, when it was up, the firſt perſon, whoſe death it was to ſignifie, was ſaid to be a Child of him, who by Printing and ſpeaking, had had as great hand in procuring

ing the late Actions as any, if not the greateſt; And the Splitting the Gun at *Salem*, where that furious Marſhal, and his Father, *&c.* was rent to pieces, *&c.* As to all theſe it muſt be owned, that no man knows love or hatred by all that is before him, much leſs can they be more ſenſible demonſtrations of the Exiſtence and Agency of the *Inviſible World*, than the Scriptures of Truth afford, *&c.* tho' the Rich Man in the Parable might think otherwiſe, *&c.* who was ſeeking to ſend ſome more ſenſible Demonſtrations thereof to his Brethren, *&c.* In that Tremendous Judgment of God upon this Countrey, by the late amazing Proſecution of the People here, under the Notion of Witches; whereby 20 Suffered as Evil doers (beſides thoſe that died in Priſon) about ten more Condemned, and a hundred Impriſoned, and about two hundred more Accuſed, and the Countrey generally in fears, when it would come to their turn to to be Accuſed; and the Proſecution and manner of Tryal ſuch, that moſt would have choſen to have fallen into the hands of the Barbarous Enemy; rather than (under that notion) into the hands of their Brethren in Church Fellowſhip; and in ſhort, was ſuch an Affliction as far exceeded all that ever this Countrey hath laboured under.

Yet in this Mount, God is ſeen; when it was thus bad with this diſtreſſed People, a full and a ſudden ſtop is put, not only without, but againſt the Inclination of many, for out of the Eater came forth Meat: Thoſe very Accuſers which had been improved as Witneſſes againſt ſo many, by the Providence of the moſt High, and perhaps blinded with Malice, are left to accuſe thoſe in moſt High eſteem, both Magiſtrates and Miniſters, as guilty of Witchcraft, which ſhewed our Rulers, that neceſſity lay upon them, to confound that which had ſo long confounded the Countrey, as being unwilling themſelves to run the ſame riſque; this that was in the Event of it to this Countrey, as Life from the Dead, is moſt eaſie with him, in whoſe Hands are the Hearts of all Men, and was a very ſignal deliverance to this whole Countrey. No leſs Obſervable wat it, that tho' at the time when the Devils Teſtimony, by the Afflicted, was firſt laid aſide, there were great Numbers of (real or pretended) Afflicted: Yet when this was once not Judged of Validity enough to be any longer brought into the Court againſt the Accuſed as Evidence, the Affliction generally ceaſed, and only ſome remainders of it in ſuch places, where more Encouragement was given to the Actors God ſeeming thereby plainly to Decypher that Sin of going to the Devil, *&c.* as the riſe and foundation of thoſe Puniſhments.

And thus, Reverend Sir, I have, as I underſtand it, performed my Duty herein, for the Glory of God, and the well being of Men. And for my Freedome uſed in this, and former Writings, relating to the Actors in this Tragedy, I ſhall not Apologize, but give you the words of one to

whom some can afford the title of Venerable (when he is arguing for that which they have undertaken to ascert, tho' at other times, more Diminitive Epithite must serve) it is the Reverend Mr. *R. Baxter* in his Book *The Cure of Church Divisions*, p. 257, 258. *But (I pray you mark it) the way of God is to shame the Sinner, how good soever in other respects, That the sin may have the greater shame, and Religion may not be shamed, as if it allowed men to sin; Nor God the Author of Religion be Dishonoured; Nor others be without the Warning; But the way of the Devil is, to hide or justifie the sin, as if it were for fear of Disparaging the goodness of the Persons that committed it; that so he may hereby Dishonour Religion and Godliness it self, and make men believe it is but a Cover for any Wickedness, and as consistent with it, as a looser Life is, and that he may keep the Sinner from Repenting, and blot out the Memory of that warning, which should have preserved After-Ages from the like falls. Scripture shameth the Professors (tho' a* David, *a* Solomon, Peter, Noah, *or* Lot) *that the Religion profest may not be shamed but vindicated: Satan would preserve the Honour of Professors, that the Religion professed may bear the shame; and so it may fall on God himself.*

And now that all that have had a hand in any horrid and bloody practices may be brought to give glory to God, and take the due shame to themselves; And that our Watchmen may no longer seek to palliate (much less give thanks for) such, &c. (thereby making them their own) and that the people may no longer perish for want of knowledge in the midst of such means of light; Nor God be any longer dishonoured by false sentiments in these matters, is the earnest desire and prayer of, Sir, yours to my power,

R. C.

Mr. *Cotton Mather.*

Reverend Sir,

HAving long since sent you some doctrinals as to my belief, together with my request to you, that if I erred you would be pleased to shew it me by Scripture, *viz.* That the Devils bounds are set which he cannot pass; That the Devils are so full of malice that it cannot be added to by mankind; That where he hath power he neither can nor will omit executing it; That 'tis only the Almighty that sets bounds to his rage and that only can commissionate him to hurt and destroy, &c. But instead of such an Answer as was promised, and justly expected, you were pleased to send me a Book, which you since call'd an ungainsayable one; which Book till lately I have not had opportunity so fully to consider. And to the end you may see I have now done it, I have sent to you some of the remarkables contained in the said Book, Intituled,

The

the Certainty of the World of Spirits, written by Mr. R. B. London, *Printed.* 1691.

'T is therein conceded (Preface) That to see Devils and Spirits ordinarily would not be enough to convince Atheists. *P.* 88. Atheists are not to be convinced by stories, their own senses are not enough to convince them any more than sense will convince a Papist from Transubstantiation. (*D. Laderd.*) *P.* 4. No Spirit can do any thing but by God's will and permission. (*Preface*) 'Tis the free will of Man that gives the Devils their hurting power: And without our own consent they cannot hurt us. (*It is asserted. P.* 222, 223. That it is a perverse opposition of Popery which causes many Protestants not to regard the benefits we receive by Angels. And Ministers are faulty, that do not pray and give thanks to God for their Ministry; and that neglect to teach Believers, what love and what thanks they owe to Angels. *P.* 225. Most good people look so much to God and to Ministers, that they take little notice of Angels, which are God's great Ministers. *P.* 234. The Author dares not, as some have done, judge the Catholick Church to become Anti-Christian Idolaters, as soon as they gave too much Worship to Saints and Angels. *P.* 7. The blessed Souls shall be like the Angels, therefore may appear here, *P.* 3, 4. 'Tis hard to know whether it be a Devil or a human Soul that appears, or whether the Soul of a good or a bad person. *P.* 61. or the Soul of some dead friend that suffers, and yet retains love, *&c. P.* 222. No doubt the Souls of the wicked carry with them their former inclinations of Covetousness, Revenge, *&c. P.* 7. When Revengeful things are done, as on Murderers, Defrauders, *&c.* it seems to be from the revengeful wrath of some bad Soul, if it be about Money or Lands, then from a worldly minded one; some significations of God's mercy to wicked Souls after this Life. *P.* 4. 'Tis a doubt whether besides the Angels (good and bad) and the Souls of men, there is not a third sort, call'd Faries and Goblins. It is unsearchable to us how far God leaves Spirits to freedom in small things, suspending his predetermining motion.

P. 246. The Devils have a Marvellous power, if but a silly wretched Witch consent. *P.* 10. 202. The stories of Witches and Spirits are many ways useful, particularly to convince Atheists, and confirm Believers, and to prove the Operation of Spirits. *P.* 232. To help men to understand that Devils make no small number of Laws, and Rulers in the World, and are Authors of most of the Wars, and of many Sermons, and of Books that adorn the Liberaries of learned men. *P.* 6. 102. The Devil's lying with the Witch is not to be denied, and is more to Exercise the Lust of the Witch than of the Devil, who can also bring in another Witch with-

out opening the door, and so perform it by one Witch with another. *P.* 105, Witches can raise Storms, sell Winds, *&c.* as is commonly affirmed. *P.* 107. In *America* 'tis a common thing to see Spirits day and night. *P.* 95, 96, 97, 110. Stories of a Child that could not be cured of witchcraft, because the *Ember*-Weeks were past, Vomited a Knife a foot long, Cart Nails, *&c.* and neither eat nor drank fifteen days and nights together; a long piece of Wood, four Knives, and two sharp pieces of Iron, ev'ry one above a span long, taken out of the Stomach, *&c.* Hair, Stones, Bones, Vomited, *&c.* 1000 *l.* of Blood lost by one person in a years time.

P. 250. A story that makes the Author think it possible that such great things (as he mentions) should be gotten down and up Peoples Throats.

P. 164. Partial credibility spoils many a good story.

P. 125. The Devil's substance enters into the possessed.

P. 174. Distracted are possessed,

P. 149. A sick Woman while she lay in bed went to see her Children.

P. 153. A Dog appeared like a Fly or a Flea.

P. 165. Some knowing Agents directs Thunder storms, tho' the Author knows not who, and that they so often fall on Churches he knows not why.

P. 2, 80. Mr. *J. M.* and Mr. *C. M.* Recommended together with *Bodin*, &c.

P. 237. A *Crispian*, if through Ignorance he believes not what he saith, may be a Christian.

In this, Sir, I suppose that if I have not wronged the sense of the Author in the places quoted (which I trust you shall not find I have done) I can't be thought accountable for the Errors or Contradictions to him-self or to the truth, if any such be found, particularly what he grants in the Preface (of the free-will of Man giving the Devil his hurting power.) This being not only more than those call'd Witch-Advocates would desire to be conceded to them: But is a palpable and manifest overturning the Authors design in all his Witch stories. For who would consent to have the Devil afflict himself? As also his concession [that no Spirit can do any thing but by God's will and permission,] I cannot perswade my self but you must be sensible of their apparent contradictorness to the rest. Others there are of a very ill aspect, as *p.* 234. the Catholicks are much encouraged in their Adoration of Angels and and Saints. If that were so Innocent as not to render them Anti-christian Idolaters; and that *p.* 4. if admitted, will seem to lay an ungainsayable foundation for the *Pagan*, *Indian*, and *Diabolists* Faith; by telling us it is beyond our search to know how far God leaves the Devils to free-will, to do what they please, in this World, with a suspension of God's Predetermination; which if it

were

were a truth, what were more rational than to oblige him that has such power over us. The Atheists also would take encouragement if it were granted that we cannot know how far God suspends his predetermining motion, he would thence affirm, we as little know that there is a predetermining motion, and consequently whether there be a God, and *p* 165. would abundantly strengthen them, when such a Learned, experienced, and highly esteemed Christian shall own that he knows not who 'tis that governs the Thunder-storms; for it might as well discover ignorance, who 'tis that disposes of Earthquakes, Gun-shot, and Afflictions that befall any, with the rest of Mundane Events. I design not to remark all that in the Book is remarkable, such as the departed Souls wand'ring again hither to put men upon revenge, *&c.* savouring so much of *Pithagoras* his Transmigration of Souls, and the Separation of the Soul from the Body without death, as in the case of her that went to see her Children, while yet she did not stir out of her Bed, which seems to be a new speculation; unless it determins in favour of Transubstantiation, that a Body may be at the same time in several places. Upon the whole it is ungainsayable, That that Book, though so highly extol'd, may be justly expected to occasion the staggering of the weak, and the hardening of unbelievers in their Infidelity. And it seems amazing, that you should not only give it such a recommend, but that you should send it to me, in order (as I take it) to pervert me from the belief of those fundamental Doctrinals (above recited) Though I account them more firm than Heaven and Earth. But that which is yet more strange to me, is that Mr. *B*-- his Friends did not advise him better, than in his declined Age to emit such crude matter to the publick. As to the sometime Reverend Author, let his works praise the Remembrance of him; but for such as are either Erroneous and foisted upon him, or the effect of an aged Imbecillity, let them be detected that they may proceed no further.

I am not ignorant that the manner of Education of Youth in, I think, almost all Christian Schools hath a natural tendency to propagate those Doctrines of Devils heretofore (solely) profest among *Ethnicks*, and particularly in matters of Witchcraft, *&c.* For notwithstanding the Council of *Carthage* their taking notice that the Christian Doctors did converse much with the writings of the Heathens for the gaining of Eloquence, forbad the reading of the Books of the *Gentiles*; yet it seems this was only a Bill without a penalty, which their Successors did not look upon to be binding. He that should in this age take a view of the Schools, might be induced to believe that the ages since have thought, that without such Heathen Learning a man cannot be so accomplish'd, as to have any pretence to Academick Literature: and that the vulgar might not be without the benefit of such Learning some of their Dis-

ciples

ciples have taught them to speak *English*, which has given me the opportunity to send you these following Verses.

Virg. Bucolicks:
Eclog. 3.——
Eclog. 8.-------

Sure love is not the cause their bones appear.
Some eyes bewitch my tender Lambs I fear.
For me these Herbs in Pontus Mæris *chose,*
There ev'ry powerful Drug in plenty grows;
Transform'd to a Wolf, I often Mæris *saw,*
Then into shady Woods himself withdraw:
Oft he from deepest Sepulchers would Charm
Departed Souls. And from anothers Farm,
Into his own ground Corn yet standing take.
Now from the Town my Charms bring Daphnis *back,*
Vanquisht with charms from Heaven the Moon descends
Circe *with Charms transform'd* Ulysses *friends:*
Charms in the Field will burst a Peysonus Snake,
Now from the Town, &c.

Ovids Metamorphosis. Lib. 7.

Her Arms thrice turns about, thrice wets her crown
With gather'd dew, thrice yawns, and kneeling down;
Oh Night! thou friend to secrets you clear fires,
That with the Moon succeed when day retires.
Great Hecate, *thou know'st and aid Imparts,*
To our design, you Charms and Magick Arts:
And thou, oh Earth, that to Magicians yields
Thy powerful Simples: Airs, Winds, Mountains, Fields,
Soft murmuring Springs, still Lakes and Rivers clear,
You Gods of Woods, you Gods of night appear;
By you at will, I make swift Streams retire,
To their first Fountain, while their Banks admire.
Seas toss and smooth; clear Clouds with Clouds deform,
Storms turn to Calms, and make a Calm a Storm.
With Spells and Charms, I break the Vipers Jaws,
Cleave solid Rocks, Oaks from their sisures draw;
Whole Woods remove, the Airy Mountains shake;
Earth forc'd to groan, and Ghosts from Graves awake.
-------- *her Journey takes,*

Lib. 14.

To Rhegium *opposite to* Zanle's *shore,*
And treads the troubled Waves, that loudly roar;
Running with unwet Feet on that profound,
As if Sh' had trod upon the solid ground.

This

This with portentous poysons she pollutes,
Besprinkled with the juice of wicked roots,
In words dark, and perplext nine times thrice,
Inchantments mutters with her wicked voice, &c.'

These Fables of the Heathens (tho' in themselves of no more validity than the idle Tales of an *Indian*, or the Discourses of a known Romancer) are become the School-learning, not to say the Faith of Christians, and are the Scriptures brought (instead of that most sure Word) if not to prove Doctrine, yet as illustrations thereof. Cases of Conscience concerning Witch. *pag.* 25. Remarkable Providences, *pag.* 250. (This perhaps might be the cause that in *England* a people otherways sober and Religious have for some ages (in a manner wholly) refused the admitting those so educated to the work of the Ministry. Such education and practice, have so far prevailed that it has been a means of corrupting the Christian World, almost to that degree as to be ungainsayable; for tho' there is Reason to hope that these Diabolical principles have not so prevail'd (with multitudes of Christians) as that they ascribe to a Witch and a Devil the Attributes peculiar to the Almighty; yet how few are willing to be found opposing such a torrent, as knowing that in so doing they shall be sure to meet with opposition to the utmost, from the many, both of Magistrates, Ministers and People; and the name of *Sadducee, Atheist*, and perhaps Witch too cast upon them most liberally, by men of the highest profession in Godliness. And if not so learned as some of themselves, then accounted only fit to be trampled on, and their Arguments (tho both Rational and Scriptural) as fit only for contempt. But tho this be the deplorable Dilemma; yet some have dared from time to time (for the glory of God, and the good and safety of Mens lives, &c.) to run all these Risques. And that God who has said, *My glory I will not give to another*, is able to protect those that are found doing their duty herein against all opposers; and however other ways contemptible can make them useful in his own hand, who has sometimes chosen the weakest Instruments, that his power may be the more Illustrious.

And now, Reverend Sir, if you are conscious to your self, that you have in your principles, or practices been abetting to such grand Errors, I cannot see how it can consist with sincerity to be so convinc'd in matters so nearly relating to the glory of God, and lives of Innocents; and at the same time so much to fear disparagement among Men, as to stifle Conscience, and dissemble an approving of former sentiments; you know that word, he that honoureth me I will honour, and he that despiseth me shall be lightly esteemed. *But if you think that in these matters you have done your duty, and taught people theirs; and that the Doctrines cited from the mentioned*

Book

Book are ungainsayable: I shall conclude in almost his words, He that teaches such Doctrine, if through Ignorance he believes not what he saith, may be a Christian: But if he believes them, he is in the broad path to Heathenism, Deviliſm, Popery or Atheism. It is a solemn caution, Gal. 1. 8. But tho we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Goſpel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accurſed. *I hope you will not misconstrue my Intentions herein, who am, Reverend Sir, Yours to command, in what I may,* R. C.

To the Miniſters in and near *Boſton. January,* 12. 1696.

Christianity had been but a short time in the World, when there was raiſed againſt it, not only open profeſt Enemies; but ſecret and imbred underminers, who ſought thereby to effect that which open force had been ſo often baffled in.

And notwithſtanding that primitive purity and ſincerity, which in ſome good meaſure was ſtill retained; yet the cunning deceivers and Apoſtate Hereticks found opportunity to beguile the unwary, and this in fundamentals.

Among others which then ſprung up, with but too much advantage in the third Century, the Maniche *did ſpread his Peſtiferous ſentiments, and taught the Exiſtence of two Beings, or Cauſes of all things,* viz. *a good and a bad; but theſe were ſoon ſilenced by the more Orthodox Doctors, and Anathematized by General Councels. And at this day the* American Indians, *another ſort of* Maniche *entertaining, (thus far) the ſame belief, hold it their prudence and intereſt to pleaſe that evil Being, as well by perpetrating other Murders, as by their Bloody Sacrifices, that ſo he may not harm them. The Iron teeth of time have now almoſt devoured the name of the former, and as to the latter, it is to be hoped that as Chriſtianity prevails among them, they will abhor ſuch abominable belief.*

And as thoſe primitive times, were not priviledged againſt the ſpreading of dangerous Hereſie, ſo neither can any now pretend to any ſuch Immunity, tho profeſſing the enjoyment of a primitive purity.

Might a Judgment be made from the Books of the modern learned Divines, or from the practice of Courts, or from the Faith of many, who call themſelves Chriſtians, it might be modeſtly, tho ſadly concluded that the Doctrine of the Maniche, *at leaſt great part of it, is ſo far from being forgotten that 'tis almoſt every where profeſt. We in theſe ends of the Earth need not ſeek far for Inſtances, in each reſpect to demonſtrate this. The Books here Printed, and recommended not only by the reſpective Authors; but by many of their Brethren, do ſet forth that the Devil inflicts Plagues (a) Wars (b) Diſeaſes (c) Tempeſts (d) and can render the moſt ſolid things inviſible (e) and can do things above and againſt the courſe of Nature, and all natural cauſes. Are*

(a) Wonders of the Inviſible World. *p.* 17. 18. (b) *p.* 18. (c) Caſes of Conſcience. *p.* 63. (d) Remarkable providences. *p.* 124. (e) Wonders of the Inviſible World. *p.* 141.

Are these the Expressions of Orthodox believers? or are they not rather expressions becoming a Maniche, *or a* Heathen, *as agreeing far better with these than with the sacred Oracles our only rule; the whole current whereof is so Diametrically opposite thereto, that it were almost endless to mention all the Divine cautions against such abominable belief; he that runs may read,* Psal. 62. 11. *and* 136. 4. Lam. 3. 37. Amos 3. 6. Jer. 4. 22. Psal. 78. 26. *and* 148. 6, 8. Job 38. 22. *to the* 34. *v.*

These places with a Multitude more, do abundantly testifie that the Assertors of such power to be in the evil Being, do speak in a dialect different from the Scriptures, (laying a firm foundation for the Indians *adorations, which agrees well with what* A. Ros *sets forth, in his Mistag. Poetic.* p. 116. *that their ancients did Usurp the furies and their God* Averinci, *that they might forbear to hurt them.)*

And have not the Courts in some parts of the World by their practice, testified their concurrence with such belief, prosecuting to Death many people upon that notion, of their improving such power of the Evil one, to the raising of Storms; afflicting and killing of others, tho at great distance from them; doing things in their own persons above humane strength, destroying of Cattle, flying in the Air, turning themselves into Cats or Dogs, &c. Which by the way must needs imply something of goodness to be in that evil Being, who, tho he has such power, would not exert it, were it not for this people, or else that they can some way add to this mighty power.

And are the people a whit behind in their beliefs? is there any thing (abovementioned,) their strong Faith looks upon to be too hard for this evil Being to effect?

Here it will be answered, God permits it. Which answer is so far an owning the Doctrine, that the Devil has in his nature a power to do all these things, and can exert this power, except when he is restrained, which is in effect to say that God has made Nature to fight against it self. That he has made a Creature, who has it in the power of his Nature to overthrow Nature, and to act above and against it. Which he that can believe may as well believe the greatest contradiction. That Being which can do this in the smallest thing, can do it in the greatest. If Moses *with a bare permission might stretch forth his Rod, yet he was not able to bring Plagues upon the* Ægyptians, *or to divide the Waters, without a Commission from the most high; so neither can that evil Being perform any of this without a Commission from the same power. The Scripture recites more Miracles wrought by Men than by Angels good and bad: Tho this Doctrine be so dishonourable to the only Almighty Being, as to ascribe such Attributes to the Evil one, as are the Incommunicable prerogative of him, who is the alone Sovereign Being; yet here is not all: But as he that Steers by a false Compass, the further he Sails the more he is out of his way; so though there is in some things a variation*

from, there is in others a further pregreſſion in; or building upon the ſaid Doctrine of the Maniche.

Men in this Age are not content barely to believe ſuch an exorbitant power to be in the nature of this evil Being; but have imagined that he prevails with many to ſign a Book, or make a contract with him, whereby they are inabled to perform all the things abovementioned. Another Account is given hereof, viz. that by vertue of ſuch a Covenant they attain power to Commiſſionate him. And though the two parties are not agreed which to put it upon, whether the Devil impowers the Witch, or the Witch commiſſionate him; yet both parties are agreed in this, That one way or other the miſchief is effected, and ſo the Criminal becomes culpable of Death. In the ſearch after ſuch a ſort of Criminals, how many Countries have fallen into ſuch Convulſions. That the Devaſtations made by a Conquering Enemy, nor the Plague it ſelf, has not been ſo formidable.

That not only good perſons have thus been blemiſh'd in their Reputations, but much innocent Blood hath been ſhed, is teſtified even by thoſe very Books, Caſes of Conſcience, *p.* 33. Remarkable provid. *p.* 179. Memor. provid. *p.* 28.

And (to add) what leſs can be expected, when Men having taken up ſuch a belief, of a covenanting, afflicting and killing Witch; and comparing it with the Scripture, finding no footſteps therein of ſuch a ſort of Witch, have thereupon deſperately concluded; that tho the Scripture is full in it, that a Witch ſhould not live; yet that it has not at all deſcribed the crime, nor means whereby the culpable might be detected.

And hence they are fallen ſo far as to reckon it neceſſary to make uſe of thoſe Diabolical and Bloody ways, always heretofore practiced for their Diſcovery. As finding that the Rules given to detect other crimes, are wholly uſeleſs for the Diſcovery of ſuch.

This is that which has produced that deluge of Blood mentioned, and muſt certainly do ſo again, the ſame belief remaining.

And who can wonder, if Chriſtians that are ſo eaſily prevailed with to lay aſide their Sword as uſeleſs, and ſo have loſt their Strength (if with *Samſon*) they are led blindfold into an Idol Temple, to make ſport for Enemies and Infidels, and to do abominable actions, not only not Chriſtian, but againſt even the light of Nature and Reaſon. And now Reverend Fathers, you who are appointed as Guides to the People, and whoſe Lips ſhould preſerve Knowledge; who are ſet as Shepherds, and as Watchmen, this matter appertains to you. I did write to you formerly upon this head, and acquainted you with my Sentiments, requeſting that, if I erred, you would be pleaſed to ſhew it me by Scripture; but from your ſilence, I gather that you approve thereof. For I may reaſonably preſume, that you would have ſeen it your duty to have informed

formed me better, if you had been ſenſible of any Error. But if in this matter you have acquitted your ſelves, becoming the Titles you are dignified with, you have cauſe of rejoycing in the midſt of the calamities that afflict a ſinning World.

Particularly, if you have taught the People to fear God, and truſt in him, and not to fear a Witch or a Devil. That the Devil has no power to afflict any with Diſeaſes, or loſs of Cattle, *&c.* without a Commiſſion from the moſt high. That he is ſo filled with malice, that whatever Commiſſion he may have againſt any, he will not fail to execute it. That no mortal ever was, or can be able to Commiſſionate him, or to lengthen his Chain in the leaſt, and that he who can Commiſſionate him is God; and that the Scriptures of truth not only aſſign the puniſhment of a Witch; but give ſufficient Rules to detect them by, and that (according to Mr. *Gauls* fourth head) a Witch is one that hates and oppoſes the word, work, and worſhip of God, and ſeeks by a ſign to ſeduce therefrom. That they who are guilty according to that head, are guilty of Witchcraft, and by the Law given by *Moſes*, were to be put to Death. If you have taught the People the neceſſity of Charity, and the evil of entertaining ſo much as a jealouſie againſt their Neighbours for ſuch crimes, upon the Devils ſuggeſtions to a perſon pretending to a Spectral (or Diabolical) ſight; who utter their Oracles from malice, frenſie, or a Satanical Deluſion; that to be inquiſitive of ſuch, whoſe Spectres they ſee, or who it is that afflicts? In order to put the accuſed perſons life in queſtion, is a wickedneſs beyond what *Saul* was guilty of in going to the Witch. That to conſult with the dead, by the help of ſuch as pretend to this Spectral ſight, and ſo to get Information againſt the life of any perſon, is the worſt ſort of Necromancy. That the pretending to drive away Spectres, *i. e.* Devils, with the hand, or by ſtriking theſe to wound a perſon at a diſtance, cannot be without Witchcraft, as pretending to Aſſign in order to deceive in matters of ſo high a Nature. That 'tis Ridiculous to think by making Laws againſt feeding, imploying, or rewarding of evil Spirits, thereby to get rid of them. That their natures require not ſucking to ſupport it.

That it is a horrid Injury and Barbarity to ſearch thoſe parts, which even Nature it ſelf commands the concealing of, to find ſome Excreſcence to be called a Tet for theſe to ſuck; which yet is ſaid ſometimes to appear as a Fleabite. Finally if you have taught the People what to believe and practice, as to the probation of the Accuſed, by their ſaying, or not ſaying the Lord's Prayer; and as to praying that the Afflicted may be able to Accuſe. And have not ſhunned in theſe matters to declare the whole mind of God. You have then well acquitted your ſelves (in a time of General Defection) as faithful Watchmen. But if inſtead

of this, you have some by word and writing propagated; others recommended such writings, and abetted the false Notions, which are so prevalent in this Apostate Age, it is high time to consider it. If when Authority found themselves almost nonplust in such prosecutions, and sent to you for your Advice what they ought to do, and you have then thanked them for what they had already done (and thereby encouraged them to proceed in those very by Paths already fallen into) it so much the nearly concerns you, *Ezek.* 33. 2. to 8.

Cases of Conscience, Ult.

To conclude, this whole People are invited and commanded to humble their Souls before God, as for other causes, so for the Errors that may have been fallen into these prosecutions on either hand, and to pray that God would teach us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiss, that we may do so no more.

Vid. *The Proclamation for a Fast, to be the 14. Instant, as set forth by Authority.*

This more immediately concerns your selves, for 'tis not supposed to be intended, that God would shew us these things by Inspiration. But that such who are called to it, should shew the mind of God in these things on both hands, *i. e.* whether there has been any Error in Excess or Deficiency, or neither in the one nor the other. And if you do not thus far serve the publick, you need not complain of great Sufferings and unrighteous Discouragements; if People do not applaud your conduct, as you might otherways have expected. But if you altogether hold your peace at such a time as this is; your silence at least seemingly will speak this Language; that you are not concerned tho Men ascribe the power and providence of the Almighty to the worst of his Creatures. That if other Ages or Countries improve the Doctrines and Examples given them, either to the taking away of the Life or Reputations of Innocents you are well satisfied. Which that there may be no shadow of a Reason to believe, but that your Conduct herein may remove all such Jealousies; and that God would be with you in declaring his whole mind to the People, is the earnest desire and prayer of, Reverend Sirs, Yours to my utmost,

Vid. *The Declaration, as drawn by the Deputies with the Assistance of the Ministers; but receiv'd a Nonconcurrence.*

R. C.

Mr. *Benjamin Wadsworth.*

Reverend Sir,

After that dreadful and severe Persecution of such a Multitude of People, under the notion of Witches, which in the day thereof, was the sorest tryal and affliction that ever befel this Country. And after many

many of the principal Actors, had declared their fears and jealousies, that they had greatly erred in those Prosecutions. And after a Solemn day of Fasting had been kept, with Prayers that God would shew us what we knew not; *viz.* what errors might therein have been fallen into, *&c.* And after most People were convinc'd of the Evil of some, if not of most of those Actions. At such a time as this, it might have been justly expected that the Ministers would make it their work to Explain the Scriptures to the People; and from thence to have shown them, the evil and danger of those false Notions, which not only gave some occasion; but in a blind Zeal hurried them into those unwarrantable practices, so to prevent a falling into the like for the future.

But instead of this, for a Minister of the Gospel (Pastor of the old Meeting) to abet such Notions; and to stir up the Magistrates to such Prosecutions, and this without any cautions given, is what is truly amazing, and of most dangerous consequence.

It is a truth, Witchcraft is, in the Text then insisted on, reckon'd up as a manifest work of the Flesh. *Viz. Gal.* 5. 19, But it is as true, that in recounting those other Works (which are indeed Manifest Fleshly Works) the Magistrate was not stirred up against those others; but as if the rest were either not to be taken notice of by him, or as if all Zeal against Murder, Adulteries, *&c.* was swallowed up, and over-shadowed by this against Witchcraft.

The description that was then given, was that they were such as made a Covenant with the Devil, and sold themselves to the evil Angels. It seems faulty, that when such Minister is inquired of, and requested to give the Reasons, or Grounds in Scripture of such Description; for such Minister to assert that it is the Inquirers work to disprove it. And his saying further, in answer that there are many things true, that are not asserted in Scripture; seems to speak this Language, *viz.* that the Law of God is imperfect, in not describing this Crime of Witchcraft, though it be therein made Capital.

These perfect Oracles inform us, concerning *Ahab*, that he sold himself to work Wickedness; which may signifie to us, that great height of Wickedness he had arrived at; which yet might be, without his being properly, or justly accounted a Witch; any more than those that are said to have made a Covenant with Death, and with Hell, *&c.* Can it be thought that all those, or such as are there spoken of, are Witches, and ought to suffer as Witches?

As the Servants and People of God, have made a Solemn explicit Covenant with him, *Josh.* 24. 25. *Nehem.* 9. 38. *&c.* So no doubt a Covenant has been made by *Heathen Indian* Nations, to serve, and adore the Devil; yet even for this, it were very hard to affix the Character of

a

a Witch upon each of those *Heathen* that so do: And accordingly to Execute them as such. It is also possible, that some that have been called Christians, have sealed a Writing, sign'd with their own Blood, or otherways, thereby Covenanting to be the Devil's Servants, &c. but from far other grounds, or inducements than what sways with the *Indians*; these Heathen hoping to please him, that so he may not harm them. But these having been Educated and Confirmed in the Belief, that by vertue of such Covenant, they shall have a Knowledge and Power more than Humane, assisting of them; this may have prevail'd with some to so horrible a wickedness; for none can seek Evil for Evils sake; but as the Serpent in his first tempting of Man, made use of this of the knowledge of Good and Evil; so to teach Men that such effects do usually follow such Covenant, is properly the work of the Serpent; for without this, what inducement, or temptation could they have to make such a Covenant?

These having thus chosen a false God, may well be accounted of the worst sort of Idolaters. Yet it does not hence follow that in a Scripture sense, they are thereby become Witches, till they have, or rather till they pretend to have assistances answerable; and do thereby endeavour to deceive others, which endeavours to deceive, by a sign may be without any previous Covenant.

But supposing none of all those several sorts of Covenants was intended, it remains that the Covenant, that was understood to be intended, in that Discourse at Old Meeting, is agreeable to the late dangerous Notion that has so much prevailed. *Viz.* That the Devil appears to the persons, that they and the Devil make mutual engagements each to other, confirmed by signing to the Devil's Book; and are from hence inabled, not only to know futurities, and things done at distance; but are also thereby impowered to do harm to the Neighbours, to raise Storms, and do things above and against a course of Nature: This being the notion that has occasioned the shedding so much Blood in the World, it may be thought to need explaining.

For as Reason knows nothing of an Afflicting, Covenanting Witch; so it seems as Forreign from Scripture in general, as it is from the Text then insisted on; which speaks of such wickednesses as are manifestly the works of the flesh: but such Communication with Spirits, the flesh doth manifestly dread even as death it self. Therefore the usual Salvation of the Holy Angels to the best of Men was, fear not; and experience shews, that the most wicked, are most affrighted at the apprehensions of the appearances of Devils; therefore such an explicit Covenanting cannot be a manifest work of the Flesh.

Yet

Yet this is manifeſt, that the belief of the Witches power to do the things above mentioned, is an ancient belief of the Heathen. And that from them it was received by the Papiſts, as a part of their Faith, who have ſince improved upon it, and brought in the notion of a Covenant. But it ſeems yet a further improvement lately made by Proteſtants, that ſuch Witches can Commiſſionate Devils to do thoſe miſchiefs, thereby ſetting the Witch in the place of God; for tho few of the Papiſts are known to be thus abſurd; yet when ſuch Doctrines have been Preached, and Printed in *New England*, they have met with none to oppoſe; but many to incourage them. Other conſiderable additions or new improvements have been made here; as the art to knock off inviſible chains with the hand, to drive away Spectres (*i. e.* Devils) by bruſhing, ſpelling words to the Afflicted, *&c.* What has followed upon theſe notions, and upon ſuch improvements, is needleſs here to repeat, it were unaccountable to recount that effuſion of Blood that has been hereby occaſioned, ſuch remaining Scars, and ſuch yet bleeding wounds as are to be found; which none can wholly pretend ignorance of.

And if Blood ſhall be required of that Watchman that ſeeth the Sword a coming, and gives not the needful warning; how much more of ſuch as join with the Enemy, to bring in the Sword to deſtroy them, over whom he was placed a Watchman.

And if the law of God be perfect, and exceeding broad, as being given forth by the Omniſcient Law-giver; it is exceeding high Preſumption and arrogance, and highly deſtructive to the lives of Innocents, for any to pretend to give another, and a pretended better deſcription of a crime made thereby Capital, with new rules to try ſuch offenders by,

Reverend Sir, the matter being of ſuch high concern requires (and it is again prayed) that you would be pleaſed to conſider, and give the grounds from Scripture, or Reaſon of ſuch Definition, or elſe that you would explode it, as inconſiſtent with both. From, Reverend Sir, Yours to my utmoſt, R. C.

PART III.

An Account of the Differences in SALEM *Village.*

THE Reaſons why we withdraw from Communion with the Church of *Salem* Village, both as to hearing the word Preached, and from partaking with them at the Lord's Table, are as followeth.

Why we attend not on publick Prayer, and preaching the word, there

1. *The Distracting, and Disturbing tumults, and noises made by the persons under Diabolical Power and delusions; preventing sometimes our hearing, understanding, and profiting by the word preached. We having after many Trials and Experiences found no redress in this matter, accounted our selves under a necessity to go where we might hear the word in quiet.*

2. *The apprehension of danger of our selves, being accused as the Devil's Instruments, to afflict the persons complaining, we seeing those that we have reason to esteem better than our selves thus accused, blemished, and of their lives bereaved; for seeing this, thought it our prudence to withdraw.*

3. *We found so frequent and positive preaching up some Principles and Practices by Mr.* Parris, *referring to the dark and dismal mystery of Iniquity working among us, was not profitable, but offensive.*

4. *Neither could we in Conscience join with Mr.* Parris, *in many of the Requests which he made in Prayer, referring to the trouble than among us and upon us; therefore thought it our most safe and peaceable way to withdraw.*

The Reasons why we hold not Communion with them at the Lord's Table, are because we find our selves justly agrieved, and offended with the Officer, who does administer, for the Reasons following.

1. *From his declared and published Principles, referring to our molestations from the Invisible World: Differing from the Opinion of the generality of the Orthodox Ministers of the Country.*

2. *His easie, and strong Faith and Belief of the before-mentioned Accusations, made by those call the Afflicted.*

3. *His laying aside that grace (which above all we are to put on,) viz. Charity towards his Neighbours, and especially those of his Church, when there is no apparent reason, but for the contrary.*

4. *His approving and practicing unwarrantable and ungrounded method for discovering what he was desirous to know, referring to the bewitched, or possessed persons, as in bringing some to others, and by them pretending to inform himself and others, who were the Devil's instruments to afflict the sick and maimed.*

5. *His unsafe unaccountable Oath, given by him against sundry of the accused.*

6. *His not rendring to the World so fair (if so true) account of what he wrote on Examination of the afflicted.*

7. *Sundry unsafe (if sound) points of Doctrine delivered in his Preaching which we find not warrantable (if Christian.)*

8. *His persisting in these Principles, and justifying his Practice; not rendring any satisfaction to us, when regularly desired, but rather offending, and dissatisfying our selves.*

We whose Names are under written, heard this Paper read to our Pastor, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, the 21*st.* of *April*, 1693.

Nathaniel Figarson, *Peter Cloyce*, Senior.
Edward Pulman, *Samuel Nurce*,
Aaron Way, *John Farboll*,
William Way, *Thomas Wilkins*.

Mr. Parris's Acknowledgment.

FOR as much as it is the undoubted duty of all Christians to pursue Peace, *Psal.* 34. 14. even to a reaching of it, if it be possible. *Amos* 12. 18, 19. And whereas through the righteous, Soveraign, and awful Providence of God, the grand Enemy to all Christian Peace, has been of late tremendously let loose in divers places hereabout, and more especially among our sinful selves, not only to interrupt that partial peace which we did sometimes enjoy, but also through his wiles and temptations, and our weakness, and corruptions, to make wider breaches, and raise more bitter Animosities between too many of us. In which dark and difficult dispensations, we have been all or most of us of one mind for a time; and afterwards of differing apprehensions. And at last we are but in the dark, upon serious thoughts of all; and after many Prayers, I have been moved to present to you (my beloved Flock) the following particulars, in way of Contribution towards a regaining of Christian Concord; if so be we be not altogether unappeaseable, irreconcileable, and so destitute of that good Spirit, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easie to be intreated, *James*, 3. 17. Viz.

1. In that the Lord ordered the late horrid calamity (which afterward plague-like spread in many other places) to break out first in my Family; I cannot but look upon as a very sore rebuke, and humbling providence; both to my self and mine, and desire some may improve it.

2. In that also in my Family were some of both parties, *viz.* Accusers and Accused, I look also upon as an aggravation of that rebuke, as an addition of Wormwood to the Gall.

3. In the means were used in my Family, though totally unknown to me or mine (except Servants) till afterwards, to raise Spirits and Apparitions in a no better than a Diabolical way; I do also look upon as a further rebuke of Divine Providence. And by all, I do humbly own this day before the Lord, and his People, that God has been righteously spitting in my face, *Numb.* 12. 14. And I desire to lye low under all this reproach, and to lay my hand on my mouth.

4. As to the management of these Mysteries, as far as concerns my self, I am very desirous upon further light to own any errors I have therein fallen into, and can come to a discerning of; in the mean while I do acknowledge upon after-considerations, that were the same troubles again (which the Lord of his rich mercy for ever prevent) I should not agree with my former apprehensions in all points. As for Instance,

1. I question not but God sometimes suffers the Devil, as of late, to afflict in shape of not only Innocent, but Pious persons, or so to delude the Senses of the afflicted, that they strongly conceit their hurt is from such persons, when indeed it is not.

2. The improving of one afflicted to inquire by who afflicts the other; I fear may be, and has been unlawfully used to Satan's great Advantage.

3. As to my writing, it was put upon me by Authority, and therein I have been very careful to avoid the wronging of any.

4. As to my Oath I never meant it, nor do I know how it can be otherwise construed, than as vulgarly, and every one understood, yea and upon inquiry it may be found so worded also.

5. As to any passage in preaching, or praying in the sore hour of distress and darkness, I always intended but due Justice on each hand, and that not according to Men but God; who knows all things most perfectly; however through weakness, or sore exercise, I might sometimes, yea and possibly sundry times unadvisedly express my self.

6. As to several that have confessed against themselves, they being wholly strangers to me, but yet of good account with better Men than my self, to whom also they are well known, I do not pass so much as a secret condemnation upon them. But rather seeing God has so amazingly lengthened out Satan's Chain, in this most formidable outrage, I much more incline to side with the Opinion of those that have grounds to hope better of them.

7. As to all that have unduly suffered in these matters, either in their Persons or Relations, through the clouds of humane weakness, and Satan's wiles and sophistry, I do truly sympathize with them, taking it for granted, that such as know themselves clear of this great transgression, or that have sufficient grounds so to look upon their dear Friends, have hereby been under those sore tryals and temptations, that not an ordinary measure of true grace would be sufficient to prevent a bewraying of remaining corruption.

8. I am very much in the mind, and abundantly perswaded that God for holy ends (though for what in particular, is best known to himself) has suffered the Evil Angels to delude us on both hands; but how far on the one side, or the other, is much above me to say, and if we cannot reconcile till we come to a full discerning of these things, I fear we shall never come to agreement, or at soonest not in this World.

9.

9. Therefore in fine, the matter being so dark and perplexed, as that there is no present appearance, that all God's Servants should be altogether of one mind in all circumstances, touching the same; I do most heartily, fervently, and humbly beseech pardon of the merciful God, through the Blood of Christ for all my mistakes and trespasses in so weighty a matter. And also all your forgiveness of every offence, in this or other affairs, wherein you see or conceived that I have erred and offended, professing in the presence of the Almighty God, that what I have done has been as for substance as I apprehended was duty, however thro' weakness. Ignorance, *&c.* I may have been mistaken. I also thro' grace promising each of you the like of me; so again I beg, intreat, and beseech you, that Satan, the Devil, the roaring Lion, the old Dragon, the Enemy of all Righteousness, may no longer be served by us, by our Envy and Strifes, where every evil work prevails whilst these bear sway, *James*, 3. 14, 15, 16. But that all from this day forward may be covered with the mantle of love, and we may on all hands forgive each other heartily, sincerely and thoroughly, as we do hope and pray, that God for Christ's sake would forgive each of our selves, *Mat.* 18. 21. to the end. *Colos.* 3. 12, 13. *Put on therefore (as the elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; Forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye.* Eph. 4. 31, 32. *Let all bitterness, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking be put away from you with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christs sake hath forgiven you.* Amen, Amen.

Samuel Parris.

Given to the Dissenting Brethren, for their consideration of, as their request. *Nov.* 26. 1694.

The Elders and Messengers of the Churches met at Salem *Village*, April, 3. 1695. *to consider and determine what is to be done, for the composure of the present and unhappy differences in that place. After solemn invocation of God in Christ for his direction, do unanimously declare, as followeth*, viz.

1. WE judge that all be it in the late and dark time of the confusions, wherein Satan had obtained a more than ordinary liberty, to be sifting of this Plantation, there were sundry unwarrantable, and uncomfortable steps, taken by Mr. *Samuel Parris*, the Pastor of the Church in *Salem* Village, then under the hurrying distractions of amazing Afflictions: yet the said Mr. *Parris*, by the good hand of God brought unto a better sense of things, hath so fully expresst it, that a Christian charity may and should receive satisfaction therewith.

2. In as much as diverſe Chriſtian Brethren, in the Church of *Salem* Village, have been offended at Mr. *Parris*, for his conduct in the time of their difficulties, which have diſtreſſed them; we now adviſe them Charitably to accept the ſatisfaction which he hath tendered in his Chriſtian acknowledgment of the Errors therein committed; yea to endeavour, as far as it is poſſible, the fulleſt reconciliation of their minds unto communion with him, in the whole Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, and with the reſt of the Church, *Matth.* 6. 12. 14. *Luke* 17. 3. *James* 5. 16.

3. Conſidering the extream tryals and troubles, which the diſſatisfied Brethren in the Church of *Salem* Village have undergone, in the day of ſore temptation, which hath been upon them; we cannot but adviſe the Church to treat them with bowels of much compaſſion, inſtead of all more critical, or rigorous proceedings againſt them for the Infirmities diſcovered by them, in ſuch an heart breaking day; and if after a patient waiting for it, the ſaid Brethren cannot ſo far overcome the uneaſineſs of their Spirits, in the remembrance of the diſaſters that have hapned, as to ſit under his Miniſtry; we adviſe the Church with all tenderneſs to grant them admiſſion to any other Society of the Faithful, whereunto they may be deſired to be diſmiſt. *Gal.* 6. 1, 2. *Pſal.* 103. 13, 14. *Job* 19. 21.

4. Mr. *Parris* having (as we underſtand) with much fidelity and integrity acquitted himſelf, in the main courſe of his Miniſtry, ſince he hath been Paſtor of the Church of *Salem* Village; about his firſt call whereunto, we look upon all conteſtations now to be both unreaſonable and unſeaſonable: And our Lord having made him a bleſſing to the Souls of not a few, both old and young in this place, we adviſe that he be accordingly reſpected, honour'd and ſupported, with all the regards that are due to a painful Miniſter of the Goſpel. 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 12, 13. 1 *Tim.* 5. 17.

5. Having obſerved that there is in *Salem* Village, a Spirit full of contention and animoſity, too ſadly verifying the blemiſh which hath heretofore lain upon them: And that ſome complaints againſt Mr. *Parris* have been either cauſeleſs or groundleſs, or unduly aggravated; we do in the name and fear of the Lord ſolemnly warn them to conſider, whether if they continue to devour one another it will not be bitterneſs in the latter end, and beware leſt the Lord be provoked thereby utterly to deprive them of thoſe (which they ſhould count) their precious and pleaſant things, and abandon them to all the deſolations of a People that ſin away the Mercies of the Goſpel. *James* 3. 16. *Gal.* 5. 15. 2 *Sam.* 2. 26. *Iſa.* 5. 45. *Mat.* 21. 43.

6. If the Diſtempers in *Salem* Village ſhould be (which God forbid) ſo incurable, that Mr. *Parris* after all find that he cannot with any comfort and ſervice continue in his preſent Station, his removal from thence will

not

not expose him to any hard Character with us; nor we hope with the rest of the People of God, among whom we live. *Mat.* 10. 14. *Acts* 22. 18. All which advice we follow, with our Prayers that the God of Peace would bruse Satan under our Feet; now the Lord of Peace himself give you Peace always by all means.

Jos. Bridgham,	*Jer. Dummer,*	*James Allen,*
Samuel Chickley,	*Neh. Jewitt,*	*Samuel Tory,*
William Tory,	*Ephr. Hunt,*	*Samuel Willard,*
Jos. Boynton,	*Nath. Williams,*	*Edward Paison,*
Richard Middlecutt,	*Incr. Mather,*	*Cotton Mather.*
John Walley,	*Samuel Phillips,*	

To the Reverend Elders of the Three Churches of Christ, at *Boston*, with others the Elders and Brethren of other Churches, late of a Council at *Salem* Village.

WE whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, are bold once more to trouble you with our humble Proposals. That whereas there has been long and uncomfortable differences among us, chiefly relating to Mr. Parris; *and we having, as we apprehend attended all probable means for a composure of our troubles; and whereas we had hopes of an happy Issue, by your endeavours among us, but now are utterly frustrated of our Expectations, and that instead of uniting, our rent is made worse, and our breach made wider.*

We humbly Query, Whether your selves being streightned of time, might not omit such satisfactory liberty of debating the whole of our Controversie; whereby your selves had not so large an opportunity of understanding the Case; nor the offended so much reason to be satisfied in your advice: We therefore humbly propose, and give full liberty of proving and defending of what may be charged on either hand, leaving it to your selves to appoint both time and place.

1. *That if your selves please to take the trouble with patience once more to hear the whole Case.*

2. *Or that you will more plainly advise* Mr. Parris, *(the Case being so circumstanced, that he cannot with comfort or profit to himself, or others, abide in the Work of the Ministry among us) to cease his labours, and seek to dispose himself elsewhere, as God in his Providence may direct; and that your selves would please to help us in advising to such a choice, wherein we may be more unanimous; which we hope would tend much to a composure of our differences.*

3. *Or that we may without any offence take the liberty of calling some other approved Minister of the Gospel, to Preach the word of God to us and our*

and that we may not be denied our proportionable priviledge, in our publick Diſburſments in the place.

So leaving the whole caſe with the Lord and your ſelves, we Subſcribe our Names. Signed by 16 young Men, from 16 upwards; and 52 Houſholders, and 18 Church-Members. This was delivered to the Miniſters, *May*, 3. 1695.

The Copy of a Paper that was handed about touching thoſe Differences.

AS to the conteſt between Mr. *Parris* and his Hearers, *&c.* it may be compoſed by a Satisfactory Anſwer, to *Levit.* 20. 6. *And the Soul that turneth after ſuch as have familiar Spirits, and after Wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even ſet my face againſt that Soul; and will cut him off from among his People.* 1 Chron. 10. 13, 14. *So* Saul *died for his tranſgreſſion, which he committed againſt the Lord, even againſt the word of the Lord, which he kept not, and alſo for asking Counſil of one that had a familiar Spirit to inquire of it. And inquired not of the Lord, therefore he ſlew him,* &c.

Some part of the Determination of the Elders and Meſſengers of the Churches, met at *Salem* Village, *April*, 3. 1695. relating to the Differences there.

IF the Diſtemper in Salem *Village ſhould be* (which God forbid) *ſo incurable that Mr.* Parris *after all, find that he cannot with any comfort and ſervice continue in this preſent ſtation, his removal from thence will not expoſe him to any hard character with us, (nor we hope) with the reſt of the People of God, among whom we live,* Mat. 10. 14. And whoſoever ſhall not receive you, nor hear your words: when you depart out of that houſe, or city, ſhake off the duſt of your feet, *&c.* Acts 22. 18. *All which Advice we follow with our Prayers, that the God of Peace would bruiſe Satan under our feet, Now the Lord of Peace give you Peace always, by all means,* &c.

Queſt. Whether Mr. *Parris* his going to *Abigail Williams* (and others) whom he ſuppoſed to have a Spectral ſight (to be informed who were Witches, and who afflicted thoſe pretended ſufferers by Witchcraft) in order to their being queſtioned upon their lives for it, were not a turning after ſuch as had familiar Spirits; and a greater wickedneſs than *Saul* was guilty of (in that he did not intend thereby bodily hurt to any others.)

And whether in a crime of ſuch a high nature, the making a ſlender and general confeſſion, without any propoſals of reparations, or due time of probation, ought ſo far to be accounted ſufficient, from ſuch a Paſtor to his People. And

And whether such as were accused, or the surviving Friends and Relations of those that were any ways sufferers, by Accusations so by him proved, are in duty and conscience bound to continue their respect, honour and support to him, in the Ministry, after such known departures from the Rule of Gods word, and after such dire effects as followed thereupon, under the penalty *of the dust shaken from his feet*, testifying against them, even so as to render them in a worse case than those of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*.

To the Honourable Wait Winthrop, Elisha Cook, *and* Samuel Sewall, *Esquires, Arbitrators indifferently chosen, between Mr.* Samuel Parris, *and the Inhabitants of* Salem *Village.*

THE Remonstrances of several agrieved persons in the said Village, with further reasons why they conceive they ought not to hear Mr. *Parris*, nor to own him as a Minister of the Gospel, nor to contribute any support to him as such, for several Years past; humbly offered as to for consideration.

We humbly conceive that having in *April*, 1693, given our Reasons why we could not join with Mr. *Parris* in Prayer, Preaching, or Sacraments. If these Reasons are found sufficient for our withdrawing, (and we cannot yet find but they are) Then we conceive our selves virtually discharged, not only in Conscience, but also in Law; which requires maintenance to be given to such as are Orthodox, and blameless. The said Mr. *Parris* having been teaching such dangerous Errors, and preached such scandalous Immoralities, as ought to discharge any (tho ever so gifted otherways) from the work of the Ministry.

Particularly in his Oath against the lives of several, wherein he swears that the Prisoners with their looks knock down those pretended sufferers. We humbly conceive, that he that Swears to more than he is certain of, is equally guilty of Perjury, with him that Swears to what is false And tho they did fall at such a time, yet it could not be known that they did by much less could they be certain of it; yet did Swear positively against the lives of such, as he could not have any knowledge but they might be innocent.

His believing the Devil's Accusations, and readily departing from all charity to persons, tho of blameless and godly lives, upon such suggestions, and promoting such Accusations, as also his partiality therein, in stifling the Accusations of some, and the same time vigilantly promoting others; which we conceive are just causes for our refusal, *&c.*

That Mr. *Parris*'s going to *Mary Walut*, or *Abigail Williams*; and directing others to them, to know who afflicted the People in their illnesses;

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we understand this to be a dealing with them that have a familiar spirit, and an implicit denying the providence of God, which alone, as we believe, can send Afflictions, or cause Devils to Afflict any; this we also conceive sufficient to justifie such refusal.

That Mr. *Parris* by these Practices and Principles, has been the beginner and procurer of the sorest Afflictions, not to this Village only, but to this whole Country, that did ever befal them.

We the Subscribers, in behalf of our selves, and of several others of the same mind with us (touching these things) having some of us had our Relations by these practices taken off by an untimely Death; others have been imprisoned, and suffered in our Persons, Reputations, and Estates; submit the whole to your Honours decision, to determine whether we are or ought to be any ways obliged to honour, respect and support such an Instrument of our miseries; praying God to guide your Honours, to act herein, as may be for his Glory, and the future settlement of our Village, in Amity and Unity.

Boston, July 21. 1797. *John Tarball, Samuel Nurse, Jos. Putman, Dan. Andrew,* Attorneys for the People of the Village.

According to the order of the aforesaid Arbitrators, the said Mr. *Parris* had some of his Arrears paid him, as also a Sum of Money for his Repairs of the Ministerial House of the said Village, and is dismissed therefrom.

PART IV.

A Letter of a Gentleman, endeavouring to prove the received Opinions about Witchcraft.

SIR,

I Told you, I had some thoughts concerning Witchcraft, and an Intention of conferring with the Gentleman, who has published several Treatises about Witchcraft, and persons afflicted by them, lately here in *New-England*; but since you have put those three Books into my hand I find my self engaged in a very hard Province, to give you my opinion of them. I plainly foresee, that should this scribling of mine come to publi-

publick view, it would displease all Parties, but that is the least; moreover it is so far out of my Road to set my thoughts to consider a matter on every side, which in it self is so abstruce, and every step I advance therein, if I miss truth (which is a narrow and undivided line) I must tumble down headlong into the Gulph of dangerous error; yet notwithstanding I have forced my self to send these few lines, if so be I may clear to you a truth, you now seem to be offended at, because of the ill consequences, which (you think) lately have and again may be drawn from it, by the ill conduct of some Men. I am not ignorant that the pious frauds of the Ancient, and the inbred fire (I do not call it pride) of many of our Modern Divines have precipitated them to propagate, and maintain truth as well as falshoods, in such an unfair manner, as has given advantage to the Enemy, to suspect the whole Doctrine, these Men have profest to be nothing but a meer trick. But it is certain, that as no lover of truth will justifie an Illegitimate Corollary, tho drawn from a true Proposition; so neither will he reject a truth, because some or many Men take unfair mediums to prove it, or draw false consequences from it: The many Heresies among Christians, must not give a mortal wound to the Essence of the Christian Religion; neither must any one Christian Doctrine be exterminated, because Evil Men make use of it, as a Cloak to cover their own self-ends; particularly, because some men perhaps among all sorts of Christians, have under pretence of Witchcraft coloured their own Malice, Pride and Popularity; we must not therefore conclude (first) that there are no Witches (2) or that Witches cannot be Convicted by such clear and undeniable proof, as the Law of God requires in the case of Death (3.) Or that a Witch so Convicted ought not to be put to death. 1. That there are Witches is manifest from the precept of *Moses*, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live.* Exod. 22. 18. for it is certain God would not have given a vain and unintelligible Law, as this must be of putting Witches to death, if there are no Witches. But you object that this doth not answer our Case, for we have formed another Idea of Witches than what can be gathered from Scriptures; you quote four place, *viz. Deut.* 13. *Mat.* 24. *Acts* 13. 2 *Tim.* 3. from all which you infer that Witchcraft is a maligning and opugning the Word, Works, and Worship of God; and by an extraordinary sign, seeking to seduce any from it, and this you readily grant. But then you say, What is this to Witches now a days? who are said to have made an explicit Covenant with the Devil, and to be impowered by him, to the doing of things strange in themselves, and besides their natural course. This you say does not follow, and herein indeed consists the whole Controversie. Therefore it is necessary, that first of all we clear this point, laying aside those prejudices we may have from the fatal application of this Doctrine,

to some (who were in your judgment) really at least in Law, and before Men Innocent. In a word, we are seeking after truth, and truth shall and will be truth, in spite of Men and Devils. I do not repeat this caution to forestall you, to believe the Doctrine of Witchcraft, as it is above defined, without inquiring into the reason and truth of it; only I desire you to enquire into it, as a thing doubtful. For no Man can be certain of a Negative, unless either the Affirmative imply a contradiction, or he can prove it by certain testimony, to neither of which you pretend; only you alledge it cannot be proved by Scripture, *i. e.* you cannot prove it, nor have seen it proved by any other you have read on that Subject. I am not so vain to think I can do better than the Learned Authors you have consulted with (tho I know not what they have done, for I had no other Book but the Bible, to make use of on this occasion;) but because I am satisfied my self, I am willing to communicate my Reasons, which I divide into Three heads. 1. The appearance of Angels. 2. The nature of Possession. 3. And the Scripture notion of Witchcraft. 1. Good Angels did appear to *Abraham*, and did eat, *Gen.* 15. it seems he wash'd their Feet, it is certain he saw and heard them, therefore there is no impossibility in Angels being conversant with men. God is true, and whatever is contained in Sacred Writ is true; If we poor shallow Mortals do not comprehend the manner how, that argues only our weakness and ignorance in this dark Prison of Flesh, wherein we are inclosed, during our abode in this vale of misery, but doth not in the least infringe the verity of the Scripture; it is sufficient that we undoubtedly know they have appeared unto Men in bodily shape, and done their Errand they were sent on from God. Now if good Angels have appeared, why may not bad? Surely the Devils, because fallen and Evil, have not therefore lost the Nature of Angels, neither is there any contradiction in their appearing in a bodily shape, now after any more than before their Fall. But you will say, you must allow of the appearances of Good Angels, because of the Scripture testimony; but not of bad, seeing there is no place of Scripture that clearly proves it. *Mat.* 4. The words in the Gospel do as plainly signifie the Devils outward appearance to our Saviour, when he was tempted, as can be express'd, *and when the tempter came to him he said-- but he answered--* the same form St. *Luke* useth to signifie the appearance of *Moses* and *Elias*, in the transfiguration, *And behold there talked with him two men*; for what follows, *v.* 31, *who appeared* is used to signifie (not their appearance, but) the manner of their appearance *in great Glory.* But you'l urge that 'tis very easie to be understood, that *Moses* and *Elias* did appear, because they had human bodies; but that it is unintelligible to you, how the Devil being a Spirit can appear, a Spirit, *i. e.* a substance void of all dimensions; therefore the words in

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the Hiſtory muſt not be taken in a literal Senſe. Do not miſtake; tho ſome Philoſophers are of opinion (which whether true or falſe, is all one to our preſent Argument) that a Spirits ſubſtance is extended, and hath beſides length, breadth and depth, a fourth dimenſion, *viz.* eſſential ſpiſſitude; yet the ſame do not ſay, that pure ſubſtance is perceptible by our bodily Senſes; on the contrary, they tell us, that Spirits are cloathed with vehicles, *i. e.* they are united to certain portions of matter, which they inform, move and actuate. Now this we muſt not reject as impoſſible, becauſe we cannot comprehend the formal reaſon, how a Spirit acts upon matter: For who can give the Reaſon, that upon the Volition of the human Soul, the Hand ſhould be lifted up, or any ways moved? for to ſay the Contraction of the Muſcles is the Mechanick cauſe of voluntary motion, is not to ſolve the Queſtion which recurs, why upon Volition ſhould that Contraction enſue which cauſes that motion? all that I know the wiſeſt Man ever ſaid upon this head, is, that it is the will of the Creator; who hath ordered ſuch a ſpecies of thinking Creatures, by a Catholick Law to be united to ſuch portions of matter, ſo and ſo diſpoſed, or, if you will in the vulgar Phraſe, to Organiz'd bodies, and that there ſhould be between them and the ſeveral bodies, they are united to, a mutual re-action and paſſion: Now you ſee how little we know of the reaſon, of that which is moſt near to us, and moſt certain, *viz.* The Souls informing the Body, yet you would think it a bad Argument, if one ſhould, as ſome have done, include from this our Ignorance, that there was nothing in us but matter, it is no otherways to deny a Spirits acting a Vehicle. The plaineſt and moſt certain things when denied are hardeſt to be proved, therefore the Axiom ſaith well, *contra principia, &c.* There are ſome certain truths which are rather to be explained to young beginners than proved, upon which yet all Science is built, as every whole is more than his part, and of this ſort I take theſe two following, 1. That there are two ſubſtances, *Corpus & Mens*, Body and Spirit, altogether different, for the Ideas we have of them are quite diſtinct. 2. That a Spirit can Actuate, Animate, or inform a certain portion of matter, and be united to it: from whence it is very evident, that the Devil united to a portion of matter (which hereafter I'll call a Vehicle) may fall under the cognizance of our Senſes, and be converſant with us in a bodily ſhape. Where then is the reaſon or need to run to a Metaphorical, and forced Interpretation, when the words are ſo plain, and the literal ſenſe implieth no contradiction, nor any greater difficulty than (as has been ſaid) what ariſeth from the Union of the Soul and Body, which is moſt certain. Now after all to ſay, God *will not* permit the Devil ſo to appear, is to beg the queſtion without ſaying any thing to the preceeding Argument, and it is againſt the ſenſe of almoſt all mankind;

for in all Ages, and all places there have been many Witneſſes of the appearances of *Dæmons*, all of whom that taught any thing contrary to the right Worſhip of the true God, were certainly evil ones: and it were moſt preſumptuous, barely to aſſert that all theſe witneſſes were always deceived, and it is impoſſible they could all agree to deceive. 2. We come to conſider the nature of Poſſeſſion. The Man poſſeſt, *Luk.* 8. 27. had a Power more than Natural, for he brake the bands, which he could not have done by his own ſtrength: Now from whom had he this Power? The Scripture ſaith, He had Devils a long time, and often times it had caught him, *&c.* he was kept bound with Chains, and in Fetters, and he brake the bands, and was driven of the Devil into the Wilderneſs; this Power then was immediately from the Devil, and whatſoever poſſeſſed perſons does, or ſuffers things beyond his natural power; he is inabled by the *Dæmon* ſo to do: or to ſpeak more properly, it is the *Dæmon* who acteth the ſame, as is plain from St. *Mark*'s Relation of this paſſage, *v.* 5. 2. A Man with an unclean Spirit, *v.* 3. 2. and no Man could bind him, no not with Chains, 6. *v.* but when he ſaw Jeſus afar off he ran and worſhiped him, and the ſame He *v.* 7. ſaid, I adjure thee by God that thou torment me not, and *v.* 10. My name is *Legion*, for we are many, *v.* 11. and he beſought him much, that he would not ſend *them* away out of the Countrey: it is manifeſt from hence, that it was not the poor Man who was poſſeſt, but the Devils who poſſeſſed him, by whom the Chains had been pluck'd aſunder, and the Fetters broken in pieces; now here is Divine teſtimony, that the Devils have actuated a Humane body to the doing of things beyond the Natural ſtrength of that Body, as it was ſimply united to its humane Soul; how much more then can the Devil actuate any other proportion of ſimple Matter, Earth, Air, Fire or Water; and make it a fit Organ for himſelf to act in.

But enough of this already, let us rather enquire how the Devil enters into the body of the poſſeſt, to move it at his pleaſure; this I think he cannot do as a meer Spirit, or by any never ſo ſtrict Union with the Humane Soul, for in that caſe he is only a tempter or ſeducer; and nothing above humane ſtrength can be done: But there being ſomething performed (the bonds broken) by a force which could not proceed from humane ſtrength, it neceſſarily follows that the Devils entred into the poſſeſt, otherways qualified than as a meer Spirit, he did not enter without ſome portion of matter, to which he was united by the Intermedium, whereof he acted upon and actuated the humane body. Again if it is ſaid that the Devil entred as a meer Spirit, and immediately acted upon and moved that Body; it follows the Devil hath a Vehicle, a certain portion of matter (that Body) to actuate and diſpoſe of at will; which is abſurd, 1. Becauſe it aſſerts what it ſeems to deny, viz. the Devils having a Vehicle to act immediately upon, and to be united to a portion of matter (as

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(as be en said before) is the same thing. 2. It fights against the Catholick-Law of the Union of Soul and Body, by which the Omnipotent hath ordained the voluntary motion of a humane body to depend upon the Will of its humane Soul, and those that are not voluntary to proceed either from its own Mechanism, or material force; hence we may certainly conclude, that it is by the Intervening of the Devils Vehicle, that he enters into the Body of the possest. But what if you and I cannot agree about this Notion of possession, must we therefore reject the truth it self, and run to a far fetched and intollerable sense of the words; No, our opinions do not alter the Nature of things, it is certain there were persons possest, and it is as certain that the Devil entred into them, either with or without a Vehicle, it is all one which part of the contradiction you take, the consequence is the same. Viz.

That the Devil doth act immediately upon matter, there is another acceptation of the word possession in Scripture, Acts 16. 16. *where one is said to be possest with a Spirit of Divination (πνεῦμα Πύθωνος) the word commonly used to the Priestess of* Apollo, *who gave responses; and it seems this Damsel was such an one, for she brought her Masters much Money, or gain by soothsaying, (ἐργασία). Now if the History of them be true that they were demented, and knew not themselves what they uttered,* donec erant Deo plenæ *(as they word it) their case is not different, but the same with the foregoing; but if they understood what they spoke, then had they familiar Spirits, whereof there is frequent mention made in the Old Testament, and one good King is commended for having cut off them that had such; therefore I think the meaning of the word was very obvious in his time; neither was it ever controverted, being joyn'd with any other name than Spirit Familiar, one of our own Family, that is oft, every day conversant with us, and almost ever ready upon call to attend us. But the consideration of them, who have familiar Spirits, falleth under the head of Witchcraft, which we are to consider in the third place. 3. Witchcraft, to inquire into the Scripture Notion of it, and compare whether it be the same with that above d fined; the Cabalistick learning would be of great use in this search, and afford us much light; there is little doubt but that there are many great truths not commonly known.* (Non est Religio ubi omnia patent) *And our Saviour expresly cautions his Disciples that they do not throw their Pearl before Swine; therefore it is no wonder that some Doctrines, tho' unquestionably true are not so fully described, because the Authors who treat of them are afraid, lest evil Men should be the more depraved by being informed; but I am in no such fear; nor can I give you any other thoughts but what are obvious to any Man, from the plain sense of the Scripture. Our definition we'l divide into two Propositions, and handle them severally. 1. Proposition. The Witch is impower'd by the Devil to do things strange in themselves, and beside their natural course. 2. Prop. The manner how the Witch is impowered to do those strange things, is by Explicit Com-*

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pact, or Covenant with the Devil. For clearing of the first, we will consider the four places above cited, wherein a Witch is called a false Prophet, a false Christ, a Sorcerer, a resister of the truth, and is said to shew signs to seduce the People to seek after other Gods: whence let us note, 3 things, 1. *That those terms Witch, false Christ, false Prophet, and Sorcerer, are all Synonimous;* i. e. *signifie the same thing.* 2. *That a Witch doth do things strange in themselves, and beyond their Natural course: for it were most ridiculous, to alledge that our blessed Saviour, when he said,* there shall arise false Christs, and shall shew great signs and wonders, in so much that (if it were possible) they should deceive the very Elect, *meant that cunning cheats should arise and shew Legerdemain tricks; the words will in no wise bear it, and I believe you are from interpreting them, so it is manifest, they signifie not a feign'd, but a real doing of things, beyond their Natural course; therefore the Sorceries of* Elimas *and* Simon *were not simple delusions, but real effects that could not have been produced by Physical causes in the ordinary course of nature.* 3. *That the end of the Witches shewing these signs, is to seduce the People to seek after other Gods, from which premises I infer, that the Witches have the power of doing those wonders, or strange things immediately from the Devil: they are without the reach of Nature, and therefore above humane power, and no meer Man can effect them; the Witch then who does them must have the power of doing them from another; but who is the other? God will not give his testimony to a lye, and to say God did at any time impower a Witch to work wonders to gain belief to the Doctrine of Devils, were with one breath to destroy root and branch of all revealed Religion; no, it cannot be, it is only God's permission, who proveth his People, whether they love him with all their heart, and with all their Soul. Therefore the Witch has a power of doing Wonders, or strange things immediately from the Devil.* 2. *Proposit. we'll subdivide into these two.* 1. *That there is an express Covenant between the Witch and the Devil.* 2. *That 'tis not reasonable to suppose this Covenant to be transacted mentally.* 1. *The Devil cannot communicate this power, by never so strict a Union with the Soul of the Witch; for in that case he is only a tempter, and nothing above humane power can be done, as has been already proved; therefore the Devil who improves the Witch to do things above humane power, must either appear in an External shape, and instruct him how, and upon what terms he will inable him to do those Wonders; or else he must enter into the body of the Witch and possess it. The Denominacs in the Gospel are such whom the Devils invade, by main force, their Soul having no further command of their bodies, which are subjected to the Will of the Devils; whose end is to wound and torment those miserable Creatures, to throw them into the fire, and into the water: but the Witch, who likewise is possessed, is not treated in such an outragious manner, his* Daemon *is tame and familiar unto him, and suffers him for*

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a time to live quietly, without any further moleſtation, then prompting him to do his utmoſt endeavour to withdraw Men from God; he is not bereaved of his Senſes as the poor lunatick, but is conſcious of all he does, and willeth all his crimes, he receiveth power from the Devil to do wonders, and doth them to ſerve the Devils turn. Therefore there muſt be a Covenant, an expreſs Covenant, between the Devil and him, viz. *that he ſhall obey the Devil and ſerve him, and that the Devil ſhall both enable him ſo to do, and alſo reward him for ſo doing; for if there is no contract between them, How comes the Witch to know he has a ſupernatural power? or how can he ſo peremptorily pretend to do that which is ſo much above his natural power, not knowing he has a ſupernatural one inabling him to do the ſame: There can be no doubt but there was a very intimate commerce between Satan and him; who is call'd by St.* Paul *thou Child of the Devil (not as other unholy men but) in an eſpecial manner, as being the Enemy of all righteouſneſs, who would not ceaſe to pervert the right ways of the Lord, it is not to be ſuppoſed that he enter'd into this ſo near a Relation with Satan, with which he is ſtigmatized, that others may beware of him, without his own knowledge and conſent; and is not this a Covenant, an Expreſs Covenant on his part to ſerve the Devil inceſſantly, and on the Devils, to impower him to act his Sorceries wherewith he bewitched the People; now I think, I have from Scripture fully ſatisfied you of the truth of what I offered, in a Diſcourſe at—— but ſince you have told me an Explicit Covenant with the Devil, ſignifying the Devil's appearing in a bodily ſhape to the Witch, and their ſigning an expreſs Covenant, which you ſay cannot be proved from Scripture. It were moſt unreaſonable to imagine that the ceremonies of this helliſh myſtery are particularly ſet down in the word of God; therefore we muſt gather by Analogy and Reaſon the manner how this expreſs Covenant is tranſacted: and to that end I'le ſet down theſe following Conſiderations.*

1. Under the Law, God did ordain his People in all their matters to have recourſe immediately to himſelf, and depend upon him for Counſil, which they were ready to obey, with full aſſurance of aid and protection from him againſt their Enemies; this the Devil imitateth by ſetting up of Oracles among the Heathen, to which all the Kings, Nations, and mighty Conquerors upon Earth did come and paid their humbleſt Adoration to the God (as the Devil blaſphemouſly call'd himſelf) of the Temple, in which they were imploring his direction and aſſiſtance in their doubtful and proſperous affairs. Again, God inſtituted Sacrifices to put Men in mind of their duty to their Creator, to whom they owe all things, even themſelves; but the Devil is not contented with the bare imitation hereof; the acknowledgment and worſhip he receiveth from the deluded World is not enough, tho they offer up unto him innumerable Hecatombs, unleſs they cauſe their Children to paſs through the

fire

fire unto him, to whom no sacrifice is so well pleasing, as that of humane Blood. And there is no reason to think, that now under the OEconomy of the Gospel, the Devil hath left off to vie with God, and thereby to ensnare Men. No, it is rather to be feared that his Kingdom doth now more prevail, for by how much the light is greater; so much greater is their condemnation, who do not receive it: it is reasonable to suppose, that (seeing the Son of God, when he came to transact with Men, the wonderful Covenant of their Redemption, took upon him their Nature, and was perfect Man) the Devil likewise doth counterfeit the same, in appearing in an humane shape to them, who receive him, and confederate themselves with him, and become his Vassals.

2. Consider, It is not probable that those false Apostles mention'd, 2 *Cor.* 11. 13. erred only in Ceremonies or Circumstances, or that their Errors, tho great, did proceed rather from their Ignorance, than from the perverseness of their minds. 1 *Cor.* 3. 15. For, for such we may have charity and hope, that God will be merciful unto them, if they sincerely do the best they know, tho they dissent in some, nay many things, from the practices and belief of the Christian Church; but those St. *Paul* threatens with a heavy curse, that their end shall be according to their works; therefore it seems they immediately struck at the very root and being of the Christian Religion, and were the same with them spoken of, 2 *Tim.* 3. 6. but with this difference, that they did not resist, but beholding the Miracles and Signs which were done by the true Apostle of our Lord, wondered and believed also, and were Baptized; yet being Sorcerers they were unwilling to loose that great esteem they had obtain'd; as it is related of *Simon*, who had bewitched the People of *Samaria*, giving out that he himself was some great one, to whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, this Man is the great Power of God, therefore he could not brook that *Peter* or *John* should have a greater Power than himself; but offered them Money, that on whomsoever he laid hands he (that person) should receive the Holy Ghost; which shews him, who thus designed to make Merchandize of the H. Spirit, tho Baptized, to have been no true believer, but still a Sorcerer in the Gall of bitterness, and in the bond of Iniquity; such were those deceitful workers, who not being able barefaced to resist, did put on Christianity as a Mask, that they might undermine the truth, and introduce the Doctrines of Devils. *Samaria* and *Paphos*, were not the only two places where the Devil had such Agents, there was no part of the Earth where his Kingdom was not Established, and where he had not his Emissaries before the preaching of the Gospel; and since the Text telleth us, he hath his Ministers, who do imitate their Master, by being transformed into the Apostles of Christ, as he himself is transformed into an

Angel

Angel of light: whose design, in being thus transformed, cannot be to impose upon the Almighty; for whatever shape he appears in, he cannot hide his uglines from the Eyes of him who is Omniscent, therefore he appeareth thus in the shape of an Angel of light, either to tempt and seduce the blessed Spirits to rebel against God, or to ensnare wicked Men, who by their hainous crimes (being lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, proud blasphemers) were before disposed to be fit Instruments to serve him, and to enter into league with him. Surely I who am ignorant of the Laws by which the Intellectual World is govern'd, dare not affirm that it is impossible for Satan so to appear, as to hide his deformities from the good Angels, and under that vail to tempt them: But certain I am that it is more consonant to Reason, to think that the Apostles intention here was to teach that the Devil appear'd as a glorified Angel unto Men to gain Ministers, whom he might imbue with the Poyson of his Black-Art, and (when he had gotten full possession of them) instruct them by his own Example to transform themselves into the Apostles of Christ, that under that Vizard they might with the greater Advantage promote his ends, and join with him in doing the utmost despite to the Spirit of Grace.

3. Consideration, It is against the Nature of this Covenant, that it should be consummated by a mental Colloquy, between the Devil and the Witch. I know not how many Articles it consists of, but it is certain from what has been already proved, that the renouncing of Christ to be the Son of God, and owning the Devil to be, and worshipping him as God, are the two chief, to which our Saviour who was accused of casting out Devils by Beelzebub (*i. e.*) of being confederated with Beelzebub) was tempted to consent: *If thou be the Son of God command that these stones be made bread*: And again, *throw thy self down from hence, for it is written, he will give his Angels charge over thee; and again all these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me*: Whence it is evident that here the Devil laboured to insinuate into our Lord, either to do things rash and unwarrantable, or to suspect his Son-ship, revolt from God his Father, and worship Satan, that he might obtain the glory of the World. Now it has been already said, that when Jesus was tempted, the Devil appeared unto him in a bodily shape; therefore it is agreeable to Reason, that he doth appear in the same manner to all them, whom he also tempteth to worship him: moreover the form of renouncing a Covenant ought to bear resemblance to the form of entring into the same Covenant; therefore Men who are received into the Mystical Body of Christ by God's Minister, who in God's stead expresly covenanteth with, and then Administreth the Sacrament of Baptism unto them, must in the like manner go out of, or renounce the said Covenant; and of them there are

two sorts, one who through the perverseness of their own hearts, the lucre of the World, the fear of Men more than of God abjure their Saviour, turn Apostates, Turks, or Pagans; The other sort is of them who do contract with the Devil to be his Subjects, in the imitation of whom, it is not to be supposed that the Devil will omit any material Circumstances, which tend both to bring them into and confirm them in his Service. To effect which his outward appearance, when he receives his Catechumens is of greater force than any mental contract, for many wicked men who have denied God and Christ not only in their practice, but also blasphemously in profession, yet have repented, and at last obtained some hope of mercy; I dare not say it is impossible for a Witch to repent and find mercy, the secrets of the Almighty are too high for me; but it is certain, these wretches are strangely hardned, by what passes between them and the Devil in a bodily shape, particularly their worshipping him, which necessarily implies his outward appearance unto them; for no man can apete Evil as Evil, because the Law of self-preservation deeply rooted in all men, determineth their wills to pursue that which seems good, and fly from that which seems evil unto them, but the inbred notions that every man has of the Devil, is that he is an Enemy and destroyer of mankind, therefore every man hath a Natural aversion from him, and consequently cannot formally worship him as such, because the object of worship must be esteemed to be propitious and placable by the worshippers, otherwise if fear alone be the adequate cause of Adoration, it follows that the Devils and damned in Hell do worship God, which is contrary to Scripture, which saith they blasphemed, because of their pains, whence it follows, that they who worship the Devil must have changed the innate Idea that they had of him, *viz.* that he is an implacable Worrier of Men, and take him to be benign at least to his own; but this change cannot be wrought by any suggestion of Satan unto the minds of Men, whom indeed he mentally tempteth to Lust, Pride and Malice; but it is his greatest Artifice to cause his Insinuations to arise in the hearts of Men, as their own natural thoughts, and if conscience discovers their Author and opposes them, then he varnishes them over with the specious colours of pleasure, honour and glory; and so represents them as really good, to be willed and desired by the Soul, which judgeth of all things without according to the Ideas she hath of them; but because most objects have two, and some many faces, and she not always attends, therefore she often errs in her choice, nevertheless it is impossible for her to apete an object, whose simple Idea is Evil; but the Idea we have of the Devil is such, for we cannot represent him in our minds any otherwise than as the great destroyer of Men, therefore no mental temptation can make us believe this our grand Enemy to be ever

ever Exorable by, or in any measure favourable to us, whence it evidently follows, that the Devil to work this change of opinion his worshippers have of him, must appear unto them in a bodily shape, and impose upon them, whom because of their great Corruption and Sinfulness, God hath wholly left, and given up strong delusions that they should believe a lye, and the Father of lyes; who now appearing in a humane shape, telleth them that he is no such Monster, as he has been represented to them by his Enemy, who calls himself God, which Title of right belongs to him, and that he (if they be contract to be his Servants) will both amply reward them, by giving them power to do many things very suitable to their abominable depraved Nature) that the Christians, whatever opinion they may pretend to have of their God, cannot so much as pretend to, and also that he will protect and defend them against him, whom heretofore they have mistaken for the Almighty, and his pretended Son Christ, whom they must abjure ere they can be received by or expect any benefit from him. Upon no other consideration is it possible for any Man to worship the Devil? for the Atheists, who deny the Being of a God, do likewise deny the Existence of any Spirit good or bad; therefore their drinking the Devils health, even upon their knees (tho a most horrid Crime) cannot be construed any part of worship paid to him, whom they assert to be a Chimera, a meer figment of States men to keep the vulgar in awe. Now I have evinced to you that there are Witches, that the Witch receiveth power from the Devil to do strange things, that there is an express Covenant between the Devil and the Witch, that this Covenant cannot be transacted mentally, but that the Devil must appear in a bodily shape to the Witch; therefore I conclude, that a Witch in the Scripture is such, who has made an Explicit Covenant with the Devil, and is impowered by him to do things strange in themselves, and beside their natural course.

II. S. I perswade my self you do not expect from me any Essay concerning the methods, how Witches may or ought to be convinced; I wish that those Gentlemen, whose Eminent station both inables them to perform it, and likewise makes it their duty so to do, may take this Province upon them, and handle it so fully as to satisfie you herein. I once intended to have provided some materials for this Work, by defining four principal things relating to Witchcraft, *viz.* 1. Witch-fits. 2. The Imps that are said to attend on the Witch. 3. The transportation of the Witch through the Air. 4. Lastly, the invisibility of the Witch; but upon second thoughts that it was foreign from my purpose, who am not concerned to compose a just Treatise of Witchcraft, which would require more vacant time, than my present Circumstances will allow, only I did promise you to give you my Opinion privately; therefore I'le

venture to make use of an Argument, which sheweth neither Art nor Learning in the Author, and it is this, that seeing there are Witches, and that the Law of God doth command them to be put to death; therefore there must be means to Convict them, by clear and certain Proof, otherwise the Law were in vain; for no Man can be justly condemned, who is not fairly convicted by full and certain Evidence.

III. S. In the last place we are to inquire whether a Witch ought to be put to death or no? you Answer in the *Negative*; because you say that that Law, thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live, is *Judicial*, and extendeth only to the People of the *Jews*; but our Saviour, or his Apostles have not delivered any where any such command, therefore they ought to be suffered to live, this indeed seems somewhat plausible at first view, but upon through Examination hath no weight in it at all for these Reasons, 1. All Penal Laws receive their Sanction from him or them, who have the soveraign Power in any state, as thou shalt not commit Adultery, is a Moral-law, and obligatory over the Consciences of Men in all places and Ages; but the Adulterers shall be put to death is a judicial law, and in force only in that state, where it is enacted by the Soveraign. 2. The Government of the *Jews* was a Theocracy, and God himself did condescend to be their King, not only as he is King of Kings; for in that sense he is, always was, and ever will be supream Lord, and Governour of all his Creatures; but in an especial manner to give them Laws for the Government of their State, and to protect them against their Enemies; in one word to be immediately their Soveraign. 3. Our Saviour's Kingdom was not of this World, he was no Judge to divide so much as an Inheritance between two Brethren; nay, he himself submitted patiently to the unjust Sentance of the Governour of the Country in which he lived; therefore both the rewards and punishments annexed to his Laws are Spiritual, and then shall have their full accomplishment, when the Son of Man at the last day shall pronounce, *Come unto me ye blessed, and depart ye cursed into Everlasting fire.* 4. That Soveraigns who have received the Gospel of our Lord, have not therefore lost their Power of enacting Laws for the ruling and preserving their People, and punishing Malefactors even with Death; so that the Criminal is as justly condemned to die by our Municipal, as he was heretofore by the Judicial Law among the Jews: How much more then ought our Law to advert against the highest of all Criminals, those execrable Men and Women, who tho yet alive, have listed themselves under Satan's banner, and explicitly Sworn Allegiance to him, to fight against God and Christ; indeed all unholy Men afford great matter to the Devils of Blaspheming, but these wretches have confederated themselves with the Devils, to blaspheme and destroy all they can; and do you think that these common

Enemies

Enemies of God and Mankind ought to be suffered to live in a Christian Common wealth, especially considering that we have a President of putting them to death from God himself, when he acted as King over his own peculiar People. But methinks I hear you saying, all this doth not satisfie me, for I am sure nothing can be added to the Devils Malice, and if he could, he certainly would appear and frighten all Men out of their wits. I Answer, 1. We must not reject a truth, because we cannot resolve all the Questions that may be proposed about it; otherwise all our Science must be turned into Scepticism, for we have not a Comprehensive knowledge of any one thing. 2. When you say, that if the Devil could he would appear and frighten all Men; the Lawful consequence is not that he cannot appear at all, for we have undoubtedly proved the contrary; but that we are Ignorant of the bounds that the Almighty hath hath set to him, whose malice indeed, if he were not restrain'd, is so great as to destroy all Men; but the goodness of our God is greater, who hath given us means to escape his fury, if we will give earnest heed to the Gospel of our Saviour, which only is able to comfort us against the sad and miserable condition of our present state, for not only the Devils, but likewise all do conspire against us to work our ruine: The deluge came and swept away all the race (save eight persons) of mankind: the Fire will in time devour what the Water has left, and all this cometh to pass because of Sin; but we who have received the Lord Jesus, look for new Heavens, and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth Righteousness. Therefore he, if we purifie our selves as he is pure, will save us (for when he appears we shall be made like unto him; to whom be Glory for ever, *Amen*) from the great destruction that must come upon all the World, and the Inhabitants thereof. Farewell.

March, 8*th*. 169$\frac{3}{4}$.

Boston, *March* 20. 169$\frac{3}{4}$.

Worthy Sir,

THAT great pains you have taken for my Information and Satisfaction in those controverted points relating to Witchcraft, whether it attain the end or not, cannot require less than suitable acknowledgments and gratitude, especially considering you had no particular obligation of office to it, and when others, whose proper Province it was had declined it. It is a great truth, [that the many Heresies among the Christians (nor the lying Miracles, or Witchcrafts used by some to induce to the worship of Images, &c.) must not give a Mortal wound to Christianity or Truth;] but the great question in these controverted

troverted points ſtill is, what is truth. And in this ſearch being agreed in the Judge or Rule, there is great hopes of the Iſſue. That there are Witches is plain from that Rule of Truth, the Scriptures, which commands their puniſhment by Death. But what that Witchcraft is, or wherein it does conſiſt is the whole difficulty. That head cited from Mr. Gaule, *and ſo well proved thereby (not denied by any) makes the work yet ſhorter ; ſo that it is agreed to conſiſt in a Malignity, &c. and ſeeking by a ſign to ſeduce, &c. not excluding any other ſorts or branches, when as well proved by that infallible Rule. That good Angels have appeared, is certain, tho that inſtance of thoſe to* Abraham *may admit of a various conſtruction ; ſome Divines ſuppoſing them to be the Trinity, others that they were Men-meſſengers, as* Judges 2. 1. *and others that they were Angels ; but tho this as I ſaid might admit of a debate, yet I ſee no queſtion of the Angel* Gabriel's *appearance, particularly to the B. Virgin ; for tho the Angels are Spirits, and ſo not perceptible by our bodily Eyes, without the appointment of the moſt high, yet he who made all things by his word in the Creation, can with a word ſpeak things into Being. And whether the Angels did aſſume matter (or a Vehicle) and by that appear to the bodily Eye ; or whether by the ſame word there were an Idea fram'd in the mind, which needed no Vehicle to repreſent them to the Intellects, is with the All-wiſe, and not for me to diſpute. If we poor ſhallow Mortals do not comprehend the manner how, that argues only our weakneſs. Two other times did this glorious Angel appear.* Dan. 8. 16. Dan 9. 21. *The firſt of theſe times was in Viſion, as by the text and context will appear. The ſecond was the ſame as at the firſt ; which being conſidered, as it will aſcertain that Angels have appear'd ; ſo that 'tis at the will of the Sender how they ſhall appear, whether to the bodily Eye, or Intellect only.* Mat. 1. 20. *The appearance of the Angel to* Joſeph *was in a Dream, and yet a real appearance ; ſo was there a real appearance to the Apoſtle, but whether in the body or out of the body he could not tell ; and that they are ſent and come not of their own motion.* Luk. 1. 26. And in the ſixth Month the Angel *Gabriel* was ſent from God. *Dan.* 9. 23. At the beginning of thy ſupplication the commandment came forth, and I am come, *v.* 21. Being cauſed to fly ſwiftly, *&c. but from theſe places may be ſet down as undoubted truths or concluſions,*

1. *That the glorious Angels have their Miſſion and Commiſſion from the moſt high.*

2. *That without this they cannot appear to mankind. And from theſe two will neceſſarily flow a third,*

3. *That if the glorious Angels, have not that power to go till commiſſioned, or to appear to Mortals, then not the fallen Angels ; who are held in Chains of darkneſs, to the Judgment of the great day. Therefore to argue, that becauſe the good Angels have appeared, the evil may or can ; is to me as if——*

becauſe

ecause the dead have been raised to life by Holy Prophets, therefore Men vicked Men can raise the dead. As the sufferings, so the temptations of our aviour were (in degree) beyond those common to Man; he being the second Adam, or publick head, the strongest assaults were now improved; and we aid that he was tempted, that he might be able to succour them that are empted, as also that he was led of the Spirit into the Wilderness, that he ight be tempted, &c. But how the tempter appear'd to him who was God Omiscient; whether to the bodily Eye, or to the Intellect, is as far beyond my ognizance, as for a Blind Man to judge of Colours. But from the whole set lown this fourth conclusion,

4. *That when the Almighty free Agent has a work to bring about for his wn glory, or Man's good; he can imploy not only Blessed Angels, but the vil ones in it, as* 2 Cor. 12. 7. And lest I should be exalted above measure, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the Messenger of Satan o buffet me. 1 Sam. 10. 14, 15. 23. *An evil Spirit from the Lord troubled im. It is a great truth, we understand little, very little, and that in common things, how much less then in Spirituals, such as are above humane cogizance. But tho upon the strictest Scrutiny in some natural things, we can nly discover our own Ignorance, yet we must not hence deny what we do now, or suffer a Rape to be committed upon our Reason and Senses in the Dark; and say, that the Devil by his ordinary Power can act a Vehicle (*i.e.*) me matter distinct from himself, who is wholly a Spirit, and yet this matter ot to be felt nor heard, and at the same time to be seen; or may be felt, and ot heard nor seen, &c. seems to me to be a Chimera, invented at first to uzzle the belief of reasonable Creatures, and since Calculated to a* Roman *atitude, to uphold the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; who teach, that under the Accidents of Bread, is contained the Body of our Saviour, his humane ody, as long, and as broad, &c. for here the Power of the Almighty must ot be confined to be less than the Devils, and 'tis he that has said,* hoc est neum Corpus. *As to the consent of almost all Ages, I meddle not now with , but come to the fifth Conclusion,*

5. *That when the Divine Being will imploy the Agency of Evil Spirits for ny service, 'tis with him the manner how they shall exhibit themselves, hether to the bodily Eye, or Intellect only; and whether it shall be more or ss formidable —— To deny these three last, were to make the Devil an Independent Power, and consequently a God. As to the nature of Possessions by vil Spirits, for the better understanding of it, it may be needful to compare with its contraries; and to instance in* Samson, *of whom it was foretold, hat he should begin to deliver* Israel, *and how was he inabled to this work? udges* 13. 25. The Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in he Camp, *&c. ch.* 15, 13, 14. *v.* and they bound him with two new ords, and brought him up from the rock, and when they came to *Lehi*

the

the *Philistines* shouted against him, and the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and the cords that were upon his Arms became as Flax, that was burnt with fire, and his bands loosed from his hands, &c. *I might instance further, but this may suffice to shew that he had more than a natural strength, as also whence his strength was,* viz. *he was impowered by the Spirit from God. And now will any say, that it was not* Samson, *but the Spirit that did these things, or that there being things done, bonds broken,* &c. *by a force that could not proceed from humane strength, and that therefore the Spirit entered into him, otherwise qualified than as meer Spirit; Or that the Spirit entred not without some Portion of Matter, and by the Intermediation thereof acted* Samsons *body. If any say this and more too, this doth not alter the truth, which remains,* viz. *that the Spirit of God did inable* Samson, *to the doing of things beyond his Natural strength. And now what remains but upon parity of Reason, to apply this to the case of Possession, which may be summ'd up in this sixth Conclusion,*

6. *That God for wise ends, only known to himself, may and has impowered Devils to Possess and strangely to act humane Bodies, even to the doing of things beyond the Natural strength of that body. And for any to tell of a Vehicle, or Matter used in it, I must observe that General Rule,* Colos. 2. 8. Beware lest any spoil you through Philosophy, and vain deceit, after the tradition of Men, after the Rudiments of the World, and not after Christ. *To come next to that of Witchcraft, and here taking that cited head of Mr* Gaul, *to be uncontroverted, set it as a seventh Conclusion,*

7. *That Witchcraft consists in a maligning and oppugning the Word, Work and Worship of God, and seeking by any extraordinary sign to seduce any from it.* Deut. 13. 12. Mat. 24. 24. Acts 13. 8, 10. 2 Tim. 3. 8. *Do but mark well the places, and for this very property of thus opposing and perverting, they are all there concluded arrant and absolute Witches; and it will be easily granted, that the same that is call'd Witch, is call'd a false Christ, a false Prophet, and a Sorcerer, and that the terms are Synonimous; and that what the Witches aim at is to seduce the People to seek after other Gods. But here the Question will be, whether the Witch do really do things strange in themselves, and beyond their natural course, and all this by a Power immediately from the Devil. In this inquiry, as we have nothing to do with unwritten verities, so but little with Cabalistick Learning, which might perhaps but lead us more astray, as in the Instance of their charging our Saviour with casting out Devils by Beelzebub, his Answer is, if Satan be divided against himself, his Kingdom hath an end: But seeing all are agreed set this eighth Conclusion,*

8. *That God will not give his testimony to a lye. To say that God did at any time impower a Witch to work Wonders, to gain belief to the Doctrine of Devils, were with one breath to destroy root and branch all revealed Religion*

ligion. And hence 'tis clear the Witch has no such wonder-working Power from God; and must we then conclude she has such a Miraculous Power from the Devil; if so, then it follows that either God gives the Devil leave to impower the Witch to make use of this Seal, in order to deceive, or else that the Devil has this Power independent of himself; to assert the first of these were in effect to say, that tho God will not give his testimony to a lye, yet that he may impower the Devil to set to Gods own Seal, in order to deceive; and what were this but to overthrow all revealed Religion. The last if asserted must be to own the Devil to be an unconquered Enemy, and consequently a Soveraign Deity, and deserving much thanks, that he exerts his Power no more. Therefore in this Dilemma it is Wisdom for shallow Mortals to have recourse to their only guide, and impartially to inquire, whether the Witches really have such a Miraculous or Wonder-working Power? And 'tis remarkable, that the Apostle, Gal. 5. 20. *Reckons up Witchcraft among the Works of the flesh, which were it indeed a Wonder-working Power, received immediately from the Devil, and wholly beyond the Power of Nature; it were very improper to place it with Drunkenness, Murthers, Adulteries,* &c. *all manifest fleshly works. 'Tis also remarkable, that Witchcraft is generally in Scripture joined with spiritual Whoredom,* i. e. *Idolatry. This thence will plainly appear to be the same, only pretending to a sign; in order to deceive, seems to be yet a further degree, and in this Sense* Manasseh *and* Jezebel, 2 Chron. 33. 6. 2 Kings 9. 22. *used Witchcraft and Whoredoms,* Nahum. 3. 4. *The Idolatrous City is called, Mistress of Witchcrafts. But to instance in one place instead of many, that* 2 Thes. 2. *from the* 3 *to the* 12. v. *particularly*, *and* 10. v. Even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusions that they should believe a lye, that they all might be damned, who believe not the truth, &c. *This, that then was spoken in the Prophesie of that Man of Sin, that was to appear, how abundantly does History testifie the fulfilment of it? Particularly to seduce to the Worship of Images: Have not the Images been made to move? to smile,* &c. *too tedious were it to mention the hundredth part of what undoubted History doth abundantly testifie. And hence do set down this nineth Conclusion.*

9. *That the Man of Sin, or Seducer,* &c. *makes use of lying wonders to the end to deceive, and that God in Righteous Judgment* may send strong delusions that they should believe a lye, that they might be damn'd, who believe not the truth, &c.

'Tis certain, that the Devil is a proud Being, and would be thought to have Power equal to the Almighty; and it cannot but be very grateful to him to see Mortals charging one another of doing such works by the Devil's Power, as in truth is the proper prerogative of the Almighty, Omnipotent Being. The

next head should have been about an Explicit Covenant, between the Witch and the Devil, &c. *But in this, the whole of it I cannot perswade my self but you must be sensible of an apparent leaning to Education (or tradition) the Scriptures being wholly silent in it; and supposing this to fall in as a dependent on what went before shall say the less to it; for if the Devil has no such Power to communicate, upon such compact, then the whole is a Fiction; tho I cannot but acknowledge you have said so much to uphold that Doctrine, that I knownot how any could have donemore; however, as I said, I find not my self ingaged (unless Scripture proof were offered) to meddle with it. For as you have in such cases your Reason for your guide, so I must be allowed to use that little that I have, do only say, that as God is a Spirit, so he must be worship'd in spirit and truth. So also that the Devil is a Spirit, and that his rule is in the hearts of the Children of Disobedience, and that an Explicit Covenant of one nature or another can have little force, any further than as the heart is engaged in it. And so I pass to the last,* viz. *Whether a Witch ought to be put to death. And without accumulation of the offence do Judge, that where the Law of any Countrey is to punish by death such as seduce and tempt to the worship of strange Gods (or Idols, or Statues) by as good Authority may they (no doubt) punish these as Capital Offenders, who are distinguished by that one remove,* viz. *to their seducing is added a sign,* i. e. *they pretend to a sign in order to seduce. And thus worthy Sir, I have freely given you my thoughts upon yours, which you so much obliged me with the sight of, and upon the whole, tho I cannot in the general but commend your Caution in not asserting many things contended for by others; yet must say, that in my esteem there is retain'd so much as will secure all the rest (to instance) if a Spirit has a Vehicle,* i. e. *some portion of matter which it acts,* &c. *hence as necessarily may be inferred that Doctrine of* Incubus *and* Succubus, *and why not also that of Procreation by Spirits both good and bad? Thus was* Alexander *the* Great, *the* Brittish Merlin, *and* Martin Luther, *and many others said to be begotten. Again if the Witch has such a Wonder-working Power, why not to afflict? will not the Devil thus far gratifie he? And have none this Miraculous Power, but the Covenanting Witch? then the offence lyes in the Covenant, then 'tis not only hard, but Impossible to to find a Witch by such Evidence as the Law of God requires; for it will not be supposed that they call Witness to this Covenant; therefore it will here be necessary to admit of such as the nature of such Covenant will bear (as* Mr. Gaul *hath it in his 5th. head,* i. e.) *the testimony of the afflicted, with their Spectral sight, to tell who afflicts themselves or others; the experiment of saying the Lords Prayer, falling at the sight, and rising at the touch, searching for Tets* (i. e. *Excrescencies of Nature*) *strange and foreign stories of the Death of some Cattle, or over-setting some Cart; and what can Juries have better to guide them to find out this Covenant by.*

'Tis

'Tis matter of lamentation, and let it be for a lamentation, to consider how these things have open'd the Floodgates of Malice, Revenge, Uncharitableness, and Bloodshed, what Multitudes have been swept away by this Torrent.

In Germany *Countries depopulated: In* Scotland *no less than* 4000 *have said to have suffered by Fire and Halter at one heat.*

Thus we may say with the Prophet, Isa. 59. 10. We grope for the Wall like the blind, and we grope as if we had no Eyes; we stumble at Noon-day as in the Night, we are in desolate places as dead Men; *and this by seeking to be wise above what is written, in framing to our selves such crimes and such Ordels (or ways of Tryal) as are wholly foreign from the direction of our only guide, which should be a light to our feet, and a Lanthorn to our paths; but instead of this, if we have not followed the direction we have followed the Example of* Pagan *and Papal* Rome, *thereby rendering us contemptible, and base before all People, according as we have not kept his ways, but have been partial in his Law.*

And now that we may in all our sentiments and ways, have regard to his testimonies, and give to the Almighty the glory due to his Name, is the earnest desire and Prayer of, Sir,

Yours to Command, *R. C.*

A second Letter of a Gentleman, endeavouring to prove the received Opinions about Witchcraft.

SIR,

SInce your design of giving Copies of our Papers (if not to the publick at least) out of your hands, I find my self obliged to make a Reply to your Answer, lest silence should be construed an Assent to the positions whereby (I think) truth would be scandaliz'd. I remember that some have taught that it is not certain there is any such thing really in being as matter; because the Ideas which we have of our own, and all other bodies, may be caused to arise in us by God, without the real existence of the objects they represent. But this opinion is not only absurd and false, but likewise Atheistical, destroying the veracity of the Almighty, whom it asserts to have determin'd us by a fatal necessity to believe things to be which are not; and I wonder that you should allude unto it, because that Angels have appeared in a Dream, in a Vision; for we dream also of Trees, Birds, &c. are there therefore no such things in nature, because we sometimes Dream to see and hear them, when we are asleep? St *Paul* in his Vision was so far from believing the Objects that were represented to him, to come by the intermedium of his Senses, that he declares, he

does not know whether he was in the body, or out of the body; therefore the Instance is in no wise proper. For *Abraham* and the B. Virgin did see and hear; and if there were not such things really, as were represented to them by their Senses, they were deluded, by being made to believe they saw and heard what was not. There is none who denieth God causing thoughts to arise in Mens minds: but thence to infer he maketh Objects which are not, by forming their Ideas in our minds, to appear to us through the Ministry of our Senses as tho they were, is a piece not only of vain, but very dangerous Philosophy. It is true, the good Angels will not appear without the appointment of God, they will not do any one Action, but according to the laws he has prescribed to them. But you say they cannot (which does not follow from your premises) supposing their not appearing to proceed from the defect of their power, and not the rectitude of their will, which fallacy has deceived you into a third Conclusion. For the fallen Angels are not so held under Chains of darkness; but that they can, and do go to fro on the earth seeking whom they may devour. Before their fall they could have appeared if sent, and would not then do any thing without a Divine Command But now they have rebell'd against God, and do all they can to despise him, therefore their not appearing now (if it were true they never did, they never shall appear) must proceed from a restraint they are under, which is accidental not, Essential to their nature; so that the true Conclusion is, the fallen Angels, while they are under forcible restraint from God to the contrary cannot appear. But what this (being clear'd from the Ambiguity you express it in) maketh to the purpose I know not, unless God had promised for a determinate time to detain them under this restraint. I do not understand what you intend by the dead being raised by Holy Men; the most natural inference is, that in imitation of them wicked men by their Inchantments,, calling on a *Dæmon* to appear in the shape of the dead, will pretend that they also can raise the dead. The *Romanists* are much obliged to you for making Transubstantiation (so much contended for by them) to be of as old a date as the appearance of Devils, and that the one implieth no more contradiction than the other: If so we do well to think seriously whether we are not guilty of great sin in separating from them; for certainly whatever private Mens Notions in this Age may be, yet it is matter of great moment, that all Antiquity (the *Saducees* the Elder Brethren of our Hobbists excepted) hath believed the appearance of Evil Spirits and their Illusions. I should be too officious if I offered to explain, how matter, real matter may fall under the cognisance of one of our senses, and not the rest. It is for you to shew the impossibility thereof, if you will build any thing upon your Assertion, to prove which your first Argument is (it seems to me) a Chimera, which

is

is not enough, when there are many to whom it seems to be a truth: Your second is very dangerous, and highly derogatory of the honour of God, between whom and the Devil you make comparison more than once as the power of the Almighty must not be confined to be less than the Devils. And again, to deny these three last were to make the Devil an Independent Power and consequently a God. These expressions (which cannot but be very pleasing to the Devil, who vainly boasts himself to be a Being without dependance) are altogether groundless, and very unmeet to proceed from a Christian: Consider what you are a doing, to establish a Doctrine (the contrary whereof the greatest part of mankind does believe) you run upon such precipices, as if you are mistaken, and that is not impossible, must totally destroy all Religion, Natural and Revealed; for suppose it were generally believed according to you, that the Devil cannot appear, because if he could he must be a God, independent, an unconquer'd Enemy, and he doth appear to us as we hear he hath to multitudes, both of the past and present ages: In such a case what remains for us to do; but to fall down and worship him. Upon the head of possession, you have recourse to that instance of *Samson*, who was impowered by God, to the doing of things beyond the Natural strength of common Men, and thence you say, we may least learn the Nature of Possession by evil Spirits, this comparison is indeed very odious, and I had rather think you have fallen into it unawares; for what greater Blasphemy than that God and the Devil do act the bodies, which the one and the other do possess in the same manner; if the hypothesis I laid down had not pleased you, yet you ought not (for fear of being deceiv'd by vain Philosophy, to have run so horrible an extream, as to Assimulate God's manner of working to the Devils, which necessarily implies, that either their Powers are equal, or at least that they do not differ in kind but in degree only; than which nothing can be more impious or absurd: for the most possibly perfect Creature, is infinitely distant from the Creator, and there can be no Comparison between them. On the head of Witchcraft, you acknowledge the Witch has not his Wonder-working Power from God; but then you say, the Devil has no such Power to give; for if he had, he must be—— This way of reasoning as I noted before, is very dangerous, and I think ought not to be used; besides there is a great fallacy in your Dilemma; which because I perceive, you lay the whole weight of the matter upon it, I will evince unto you. The Devil tho superlatively Arrogant and Proud, nevertheless depends on the first cause for his Being, and all his Powers, without whose Influx he or any other Creature cannot subsist a moment, but must either return to their primitive Nothing, or be continually preserved by the same Power, by the which they were at first produced; therefore the

Beings

Beings and Powers of all Creatures (becauſe they immediately flow from God) are good, and conſequently the ſimple Actions, as they proceed from thoſe Powers, are in their own nature likewiſe good, the Evil proceeding only from the Rebellious will of the Creature, wherefore 'tis no Paradox, but a certain truth, that the ſame Action in reſpect of the firſt cauſe is good, but in reſpect of the ſecond is Evil; for inſtance, the act of Copulation is in it ſelf good, inſtituted by God, and may be explicitly willed and deſired by the Soul, which ſinneth not for exerting the ſimple Act; but for exerting it contrary to the Laws preſcrib'd by God: as in Wedlock and Adultery there is the ſame ſpecifical natural Action, which conſider'd ſimply, as flowing from a Power given to Man by God is certainly good; but conſidered with relation to the rebellious will of the Adulterer (who lieth with his Neighbours Wife, whom he is forbid to touch) is a very great Evil. We may ſay the ſame of all humane Actions, the Executioner and the Murtherer do the ſame natural Act of ſtriking and killing: The difference conſiſts in the rectitude of the ones and depravation of the others will. Theſe things premiſed, what more reaſon have we to conclude that the Devil (becauſe he ſhews ſigns and wonders to gain belief to lyes, which is very contrary to the will of God) muſt be therefore an Independent Power; than that the Adulterer, the Murtherer, or any other ſinner (becauſe their Actions being Evil, of which God cannot be the cauſe) muſt be Independent Beings: The deceit of the laſt is very palpable, and I doubt not but you will readily acknowledge it, for it is obvious from what has been ſaid to the meaneſt Capacity, to diſtinguiſh between the Action it ſelf, which is good, and flows from God, and the Circumſtances of the Action, the choice whereof proceeds from the Iniquity of the Will, wherein doth ſolely conſiſt the Sin; the parallel is ſo exact, that I cannot ſee the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon, why we ought not in like manner to diſtinguiſh whatever effect is produced by the Devil; To whom (as to Man) God having given Powers, and a Will to Rule them Powers, is truly and properly the cauſe of all the Actions (in a Natural, but not Moral Senſe) that flow from the Powers he has given. Therefore the Wonder-working Power of the Devil, and the effects thereof, conſidered as Acts of one of God's Creatures, are not Evil but Good; the uſing that Power (which proceeds from the Rebellion of Satan) to bear teſtimony to a lye, is that one, which conſtitutes the Evil thereof.

And now I have done with your Argument, wherein you have indeed ſhewn great skill and dexterity in turning to your Advantage, what being fairly ſtated makes againſt you, as the Appearance of Angels, &c. obſerving nicely the rules of Art, and particularly that grand one of concealing, nay diſſembling the ſame Art, as when you quote that Scripture concerning

oncerning vain Philoſophy (of which tho altogether foreign from the natter in hand yet) you intend to ſerve your ſelf with the Unthinking, who meaſure the Senſe of words by their Jingle, not knowing how to veigh the things they ſignifie, and truly herein your end is very Artiial; for you intend both to throw dirt at them that differ from you, nd at the ſame time to cover your ſelf with ſuch a ſubtle web, through which you may ſee, and not be ſeen. What follows, is rather a Rhetorial Lecture, ſuch as the Patriots of Sects (who commonly Explain the Holy Scriptures according to their own Dogma's, and ſo obtrude hunane Invention for the pure word of God) uſe with their Auditors, to ecommend any Principle they have a mind to eſtabliſh, than an Imparial and through diſquiſition of a controverted point; wherefore I do not hink my ſelf obliged to take any further notice of it: eſpecially ſeeing ruth, which for the moſt part is little regarded in ſuch florid Diſcourſes, nd not any prejudice of Education, Intereſt, or Party, did ſet me about his ſubject. I have never been uſed to Complement in points of Conroverſie, therefore I hope you'l not be angry, becauſe I have given you my thoughts naked and plain. I have not the leaſt motion in my mind of accuſing you of any formal deſign to injure Religion; I only obſerve unto you, that your over eager contention to maintain your Principle, has hurried you to aſſert many things of much greater danger, both in themſelves and their conſequences, than thoſe you would ſeem to avoid; which do amount to no more then that, Men being (in the ordinary courſe of Providence) the Depoſitories of both Divine and Humane Laws, may (inſtead of uſing them to preſerve) pervert them to deſtroy; which indeed is very lamentable.

But it is the inevitable conſequent of our depraved nature, and cannot be wholly remedied, till Sin, and the grand Author of Sin, the Devil, be intirely conquered, and God be all in all; to whom, with the Son, and Holy Ghoſt, be Glory for ever, *Amen.*

Sir, Your Affectionate Friend to ſerve you.

Boſton, July, 25. 1694.

Boſton, Auguſt, 17. 1694.

Worthy Sir,

YOURS of *July*, 25. being in ſome ſort ſurpriſing to me. I could do no leſs than ſay ſomewhat, as well to vindicate my ſelf from thoſe many Reflections, miſtakes and hard cenſures therein; as alſo to vindicate what I conceive to be Important truth, and to that end find it needful to repeat ſome part of mine, *Viz.* Concluſion.

1. That

1. That the glorious Angels have their Miſſion and Commiſſion from the moſt High.

2. That without this they cannot appear to mankind.

3. That if the glorious Angels have not that power to go till commiſſion'd, or to appear to Mortals, then not the fallen Angels, who are held in Chains of Darkneſs to the Judgment of the great Day.

4. That when the Almighty free Agent has a work to bring about for his own glory, or Mans good, he can imploy not only the Bleſſed Angels, but evil ones in it.

5. That when the Divine Being will imploy the Agency of Evil Spirits for any ſervice, 'tis with him the manner how they ſhall exhibit themſelves, whether to the bodily Eye, or Intellect only, or whether it ſhall be more or leſs formidable.

To deny theſe three laſt, were to make the Devil an Independent Power, and conſequently a God.

The bare recital of theſe is ſufficient to vindicate me from that reitterated charge, of denying all appearances of Angels or Devils.

That the good Angels cannot appear without Miſſion and Commiſſion from the moſt high, is you ſay more than follows from the premiſes; but if you like not ſuch Negative deduction, though ſo natural, it concerns you (if you will aſſert this Power to be in their Natures, and their non appearance only to proceed from the rectitude of their Wills, and that without ſuch Commiſſion they have a Power to appear to Mortals, and upon this to build ſo prodigious a Structure, *&c.)* very clearly to prove it by Scripture, for Chriſtians have good reaſon to take the Apoſtles warning (if ſome Philoſophers have taught that Man is nothing but Matter. And others that 'tis not certain there is any Matter at all) *to take heed leaſt they be ſpoiled through vain Philoſophy*, &c. but that this ſhould be alluded to by ſuch as never heard of either Notion, or that it was aſſerted that thoſe real appearances to *Joſeph*, and to the Apoſtle, was through the Miniſtry of the Senſes, is as vain as ſuch Philoſophy. As to the Dead being raiſed, had I uſed Art or Rhetorick enough to explain my meaning to you, I needed not now to rejoin. That 'tis as good an Argument to ſay, that becauſe Holy Prophets have raiſed the dead, therefore wicked Men have a Power to raiſe the dead. As 'tis to ſay, becauſe good Angels have appeared, therefore the Evil have a Power to appear; for who can doubt, but if the Almighty ſhall Commiſſionate a wicked Man to it, he alſo ſhall raiſe the dead, as is intimated, *Mat.* 7.22. *And in thy name done many wonderful Works.* As to compariſons being odious, particularly that concerning *Samſon*, I think it needful here to add theſe Scriptures further to confirm the fourth Concluſion. 2 *Sam.* 24. 1. compared with 1 *Chron.* 21 1. *In one 'tis God moved*, &c. *and in the o-*

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ther Satan provoked David *to number the People.* 2 Chron. 18. 21. *And the Lord said, thou shalt intice him, and thou shalt also prevail, go out and do even so*; all which, with many more that might be produc'd, as they will shew the truth of the Conclusion; so that 'tis no odious Comparison to say, that as the Almighty can make use of Good, so also of Evil Spirits, for the accomplishing of his own wise ends, and can impower either without the help of a Vehicle. For possessions must be numbred among Gods afflictive dispensations, who also orders all the Circumstances thereof. But if any object God is not the Author of Evil, *&c.* you have furnish'd me with a very learned Answer, by distinguishing between the Act and the Evil of the Act, and to which 'tis adapt, but will no wise sute where it is placed, till it be first proved that the Devil hath of himself such Power not only of appearing at pleasure, but of working Miracles, and to the Almighty reserved only the Power of restraining; for till this be proved the Dilemma must remain stable. He that asserts that-- Because good Angels have appeared, that therefore the fallen Angels have a Power of themselves to appear to Mortals; And that they cannot be imployed by the Almighty; nor that he does not order the manner and Circumstances of such appearance, what doth he less than make the Devil an Independent Power, and consequently a God! So he that asserts that the Devil has a Power of himself, and Independent to work Wonders, and Miracles, and to impower Witches to do the like in order to deceive, *&c.* What doth he less than own him to be an unconquered Enemy, and consequently a Soveraign Deity! and who is it that is culpable? he that ascribes such Attributes to the Evil one, or he that asserts that the so doing gives him (or ascribes to him) such Power as is the prerogative of him only who is Almighty? And here Sir, it highly concerns you to consider your foundations, what proof from Scripture is to be found for your Assertions, and who it is you are contending for. For hitherto nothing like a proof hath been offer'd from Scripture, which abounds so with the contrary, that he that runs may read, *As shall there be evil in the City, and the Lord hath not done it? who is he that saith, and it cometh to pass when the Lord commandeth it not.* Who among the Gods of the Heathen (of which the Devil is one) can give Rain, *&c.*

But I shall not be tedious in multiplying proofs, to that which all seem to own. For as to that stale plea of Universality, do say that I have read of one, if not several, general Councels, that have not only disapproved, but Anathematiz'd them that have ascribed such Power to the Devils. And several National Protestant Churches at this day in their Exhortation before the Sacrament (among other Enormous Crimes) admonish all that believe any such Power in the Witch, *&c.* to withdraw as unmeet to partake at the Lords Table.

And I believe Christians in general, if they were asked, would own that what Powers the Devil may at any time have to appear, to afflict, destroy, or cause tempests, &c. must be by Power or Commission from the Soveraign Being. And that having such a Commission, not only Hail, but Frogs, Lice, or Flies shall be impowered to plague a great King and Kingdom. And if so, this Sandy Structure of the Devils appearance, and working Wonders at pleasure, and of Impowering Witches to afflict, &c. (for to this narrow Crisis is that whole Doctrine reduc'd) the whole disappears at the first shaking.

Thus worthy Sir, I have given you my sentiments, and the grounds thereof, as plainly and as concise as I was able, tho 'tis indeed a subject that calls for the ablest Pens to discuss, acknowledging my self to be insufficient for these things; however I think I have done but my duty for the glory of God, the Soveraign Being; and have purposely avoided such a reply as some parts of yours required.

And pray that not only you and I, but all mankind may give to the Almighty the glory due unto his name. From, Sir, Yours to command,

R. C.

Witchcraft is manifestly a Work of the Flesh.

PART V.

An Impartial Account of the most Memorable Matters of Fact, touching the supposed Witchcraft in New England,

MR. *Parris* had been some years a Minister in *Salem-Village*, when this sad Calamity (as a deluge) overflowed them, spreading it self far and near: He was a Gentleman of Liberal Education, and not meeting with any great Encouragement, or Advantage in Merchandizing, to which for some time he apply'd himself, betook himself to the work of the Ministry; this Village being then vacant, he met with so much Encouragement, as to settle in that Capacity among them.

After he had been there about two years, he obtained a Grant from a part of the Town, that the House and Land he Occupied, and which had been Alotted by the whole People to the Ministry, should be and remain to him, &c. as his own Estate in Fee Simple. This occasioned great *Divisions* both between the Inhabitants themselves, and between a considerable part of them and their said Minister, which Divisions were but as a beginning or *Præludium* to what immediately followed.

It was the latter end of *February* 1691. when divers young Persons belonging to Mr. *Parris's* Family, and one or more of the Neighbourhood, began to

Act

Act after a strange & unusual manner, *viz.* as by getting into Holes, and creeping under Chairs and Stools, and to use sundry odd Postures and Antick Gestures, uttering fooliſh, ridiculous Speeches, which neither they themselves nor any others could make sense of; the Physicians that were called could assign no reason for this; but it seems one of them, having recourse to the old shift, told them, he was afraid they were Bewitched; upon such suggestion, they that were concerned, applyed themselves to Fasting and Prayer, which was attended not only in their own private Families, but with calling in the help of others.

March the 11 *th.* Mr. *Parris* invited several Neighbouring Ministers to join with him in keeping a Solemn day of Prayer at his own House; the time of the exercise those Persons were for the most part silent, but after any one Prayer was ended, they would Act and Speak strangely and Ridiculously, yet were such as had been well Educated and of good Behaviour, the one a Girl of 11 or 12 years old, would sometimes seem to be in a *Convulsion Fit*, her Limbs being twisted several ways, and very stiff, but presently her Fit would be over.

A few days before this Solemn day of Prayer, Mr. *Parris*'s *Indian* Man and Woman made a Cake of Rye Meal, with the Childrens Water, and Baked it in the Ashes, and as is said, gave it to the Dog; this was done as a means to Discover Witchcraft; soon after which those ill affected or afflicted Persons named several that they said they saw, when in their Fits, afflicting of them.

The first complain'd of, was the said *Indian* Woman, named *Tituba*, she confessed that the *Devil* urged her to sign a Book, which he presented to her, and also to work Mischief to the Children, *&c.* She was afterwards Committed to Prison, and lay there till Sold for her Fees. The account she since gives of it is, that her Master did beat her and otherways abuse her, to make her confess and accuse (such as he call'd) her Sister-Witches, and that whatsoever she said by way of confessing or accusing others, was the effect of such usage; her Master refused to pay her Fees, unless she would stand to what she had said.

The Children complained likewise of two other Women, to be the Authors of their Hurt, *Viz. Sarah Good*, who had long been counted a *Melancholy* or *Distracted* Woman, and one *Osburn*, an Old *Bed-rid* Woman; which two were Persons so ill thought of, that the accusation was the more readily believed; and after Examination before two *Salem* Magistrates, were committed: *March* the 19*th.* Mr. *Lawson* (who had been formerly a Preacher at the said Village) came thither, and hath since set fourth in Print an account of what then passed, about which time, as he saith, they complained of Goodwife *Cory*, and Goodwife *Nurse*, Members of the Churches at the Vilage and at *Salem*, many others being by that time Accused.

March the 21*st*, Goodwife *Cory* was examined before the Magistrates of *Salem*, at the Meeting House in the Village; a throng of Spectators being present to see the Novelty. Mr. *Noyes* one of the Ministers of *Salem* began with Prayer, after which the Prisoner being call'd, in order to answer to what

ſhould be Alledged againſt her, ſhe deſired that ſhe might go to Prayer, and was anſwered by the Magiſtrates, that they did not come to hear her pray, but to examine her.

The number of the Afflicted were at that time about Ten, *Viz.* Mrs. *Pope*, Mrs. *Putman*, Goodwife *Bibber*, and Goodwife *Goodall*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Mercy Lewes* (at *Thomas Putmans*) and Dr. *Griggs* Maid, and three Girls, *Viz. Elizabeth Parris*, Daughter to the Miniſter, *Abigail Williams* his Neice, and *Ann Putman*, which laſt three, were not only the beginners, but were alſo the chief in theſe Accuſations. Theſe Ten were moſt of them preſent at the Examination, and did vehemently accuſe her of Afflicting them, by Biting, Pinching, Strangling, *&c.* And they ſaid, they did in their Firs ſee her likeneſs coming to them, and bringing a Book for them to Sign; Mr. *Hathorn* a Magiſtrate of *Salem*, asked her, why ſhe Afflicted thoſe Children? ſhe ſaid, ſhe did not Afflict them, he asked her, who did then? ſhe ſaid, I do not know, how ſhould I know? ſhe ſaid, they were Poor Diſtracted Creatures, and no heed to be given to what they ſaid; Mr. *Hatkorn* and Mr. *Noyes* replied that it was the Judgment of all that were there preſent, that they were bewitched, and only ſhe (the Accused) ſaid they were Diſtracted: She was Accuſed by them, that the *Black Man* Whiſpered to her in her Ear now (while ſhe was upon Examination) and that ſhe had a Yellow Bird, that did uſe to Suck between her Fingers, and that the ſaid Bird did Suck now in the Aſſembly; order being given to look in that place to ſee if there were any ſign, the Girl that pretended to ſee it ſaid, that it was too late now, for ſhe had removed a Pin, and put it on her Head, it was upon ſearch found, that a Pin was there ſticking upright. When the Accuſed had any motion of their Body, Hands or Mouth, the Accuſers would cry out, as when ſhe bit her Lip, they would cry out of being bitten, if ſhe graſped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being Pinched by her, and would produce marks, ſo of the other motions of her Body, as complaining of being Preſt, when ſhe lean'd to the ſeat next her, if ſhe ſtirred her Feet, they would ſtamp and cry out of Pain there. After the hearing the ſaid *Cory* was committed to *Salem* Priſon, and then their crying out of her abated.

March the 24*th*, Goodwife *Nurſe* was brought before Mr. *Hathorn* and Mr. *Curwin* (Magiſtrates) in the Meeting Houſe, Mr. *Hale* Miniſter of *Beverly*, began with Prayer, after which ſhe being Accus'd of much the ſame Crimes made the like anſwers, aſſerting her own Innocence with earneſtneſs. The Accuſers were moſtly the ſame, *Tho. Putmans* Wife, *&c.* complaining much. The dreadful Shreiking from her and others, was very amazing, which was heard at a great diſtance; ſhe was alſo Committed to Priſon.

A Child of *Sarah Goods*, was likewiſe apprehended, being between 4 and 5 years Old, the Accuſers ſaid this Child bit them, and would ſhew ſuch like marks, as thoſe of a ſmall Sett of Teeth upon their Arms, as many of the Afflicted as the Child caſt its Eye upon, would complain they were in Torment: which Child they alſo Committed.

Concerning theſe that had been hitherto Examined and Committed, it is among

among other things obſerved by Mr. *Lawſon* (in Print) that they were by the Accuſers charged, to belong to a Company that did muſter in Arms, and were reported by them to keep Days of Faſt, Thankſgiving and Sacraments; and that thoſe Afflicted (or Accuſers) did in the Aſſembly, Cure each others, even with a touch of their Hand, when ſtrangled and otherways tortured, and would endeavour to get to the Afflicted to relieve them thereby (for hitherto they had not uſed the Experiment of bringing the Accuſed to touch the Afflicted, in order to their Cure) and could foretel one anothers Fits to be coming, and would ſay, look to ſuch a one, ſhe will have a Fit preſently and ſo it happened, and that at the ſame time when the Accuſed perſon was preſent, the Afflicted ſaid they ſaw her *Spectre* or likeneſs in other places of the Meeting Houſe Sucking of their Familiars.

The ſaid Mr. *Lawſon* being to Preach at the Village, after the *Pſalm* was Sung, *Abigail Williams* ſaid, *Now ſtand up and name your Text*, after it was read, ſhe ſaid, *It is a long Text.* Mrs. *Po e* in the beginning of Sermon ſaid to him, *Now there is enough of that.* In Sermon, he referring to his Doctrine, *Abigail Williams* ſaid to him, *I know no Doctrine you had, if you did name one I have forget it. Ann Putman* an afflicted Girl, ſaid, *There was a Yellow Bird ſate on his Hat as it hung on the Pin in the Pulpit.*

March 31. 1692. Was ſet apart as a day of Solemn Humiliation at *Salem*, upon the Account of this Buſineſs, on which day *Abigail Williams* ſaid, *That ſhe ſaw a great number of Perſons in the Village at the Adminiſtration of a Mock Sacrament, where they had Bread as red as raw Fleſh, and red Drink.*

April 1. *Mercy Lewis* affirmed, *That ſhe ſaw a man in White, with whom ſhe went into a Glorious Place*, viz. In her fits, *where was no Light of the Sun, much leſs of Candles, yet was full of Light and Brightneſs, with a great Multitude in White Glittering Robes, who Sang the Song in* 5. Rev. 9. *and the* 110 *and* 149 Pſalms; *And was grieved that ſhe might tarry no longer in this place.* This *White Man* is ſaid to have appeared ſeveral times to others of them, and to have given them notice how long it ſhould be before they ſhould have another Fit.

April the 3*d*. Being Sacrament Day at the Village, *Sarah Cloys* Siſter to Goodwife *Nurſe*, a Member to one of the Churches, was (tho' it ſeems with difficulty prevail'd with to be) preſent; but being entred the place, and Mr. *Parris* naming his Text, *6 John*, 70.. *Have not I choſen you Twelve, and one of you is a Devil* (for what cauſe may reſt as a doubt whether upon the account of her Siſters being committed, or becauſe of the choice of that Text) ſhe roſe up and went out, the wind ſhutting the Door forcibly, gave occaſion to ſome to ſuppoſe ſhe went out in Anger, and might occaſion a ſuſpicion of her; however ſhe was ſoon after complain'd of, examin'd and Committed.

April the 11*th*. By this time the number of the Accuſed and Accuſers being much encreaſed, was a Publick Examination at *Salem*, Six of the Magiſtrates with ſeveral Miniſters being preſent, there appeared ſeveral who complain'd againſt others with hidious clamours and Screechings. Goodwife *Proctor* was brought thither, being Accuſed or cryed out againſt; her Huſband

band coming to attend and assist her, as there might be need, the Accuser cryed out of him also, and that with so much earnestness, that he was Committed with his Wife. About this time besides the Experiment of the Afflicted falling at the sight, *&c.* they put the Accused upon saying the Lords Prayer, which one among them performed, except in that petition [*Deliver us from Evil*] she expresst it thus [*Deliver us from all Evil*] this was lookt upon as if she Prayed against what she was now justly under, and being put upon it again, and repeating those words [*Hallowed be thy Name*] she expresst it [*Hollowed be thy Name*] this was counted a depraving the words, as signifying to make void, and so a Curse rather then a Prayer, upon the whole it was concluded that she also could not say it, *&c.* Proceeding in this work of examination and Commitment. many were sent to Prison. As an Instance, see the following Mittimus.

To Their Majesties Goal-keeper in *Salem.*

YOU *are in Their Majesties Names hereby required to take into your care, and safe custody, the Bodies of* William Hobs, *and* Deborah *his Wife,* Mary Easty, *the Wife of* Isaac Easty, *and* Sarah Wild, *the Wife of* John Wild, *all of* Topsfield; *and* Edward Bishop *of* Salem-Village, *Husbandman, and* Sarah *his Wife, and* Mary Black, *a* Negro *of Lieutenant* Nathaniel Putmans *of* Salem-Vilage; *also* Mary English *the Wife of* Philip English, *Merchant in* Salem; *who stand charged with High Suspicion of Sundry Acts of Witchcraft, done or committed by them lately upon the Bodies of* Ann Putman, Mary Lewis *and* Abigail Williams, *of* Salam-Village, *whereby great Hurt and Damage hath been done to the Bodies of the said Persons, according to the complaint of* Thomas Putman *and* John Buxton *of* Salem-Village, *Exhibited.* Salem Apr. 21. 1692. *appears, whom you are to secure in order to their further Examination. Fail not.*

John Hathorn, } *Assistants.*
Dated Salem Ap. 22. 1692. Jona. Curwin, }

To Marshal George Herrick *of* Salem Essex. *You are in their Majesties Names hereby required to convey the above-named to the Goal at* Salem. *Fail not.*

John Hathorn, } *Assistants.*
Dated Salem Apr. 22. 1692. Jona. Curwin, }

The occasion of *Bishops* being cry'd out of, was he being at an Examination in *Salem,* when at the Inn an afflicted *Indian* was very unruly, whom he undertook, and so managed him, that he was very orderly, after which in riding home, in company of him and other Accusers, the *Indian* fell into a fit, and clapping hold with his Teeth on the back of the Man that rode before him, thereby held himself upon the Horse, but said, *Bishop* striking him with his stick, the *Indian* soon recovered, and promised he would do so no more; to which *Bishop* replied, that he doubted

doubted not, but he could cure them all, with more to the same effect; Immediately after he was parted from them, he was cried out of, *&c.*

May, 14. 1692. Sir *William Phips* arrived with Commission from their Majesties to be Governour, pursuant to the New-Charter; which he now brought with him; the Ancient Charter having been vacated by King *Charles*, and King *James* (by which they had a power not only to make their own Laws; but also to chuse their own Governour and Officers; and the Countrey for some years was put under an absolute Commission-Government, till the Revolution, at which time, tho more than two thirds of the People were for reassuming their ancient Government (to which they had encouragement by His then Royal Highness's Proclamation) yet some that might have been better imployed (in another station) made it their business (by printing, as well as speaking) to their most to divert them from such a settlement; and so far prevailed, that for about seven Weeks after the Revolution, here was not so much as a face of any Government; but some few Men upon their own Nomination would be called a Committee of Safety; but at length the Assembly prevailed with those that had been of the Government, to promise that they would reassume; and accordingly a Proclamation was drawn, but before publishing it, it was underwritten, that they would not have it understood that they did reassume Charter-Government; so that between Government and no Government, this Countrey remained till Sir *William* arrived; Agents being in this time impowered in *England*, which no doubt did not all of them act according to the Minds or Interests of those that impowered them, which is manifest by their not acting jointly in what was done; so that this place is perhaps a single Instance (even in the best of Reigns) of a Charter not restored after so happy a Revolution.

This settlement by Sir *William Phips* his being come Governour put an end to all disputes of these things, and being arrived, and having read his Commission, the first thing he exerted his Power in, was said to be in giving Orders that Irons should be put upon those in Prison; for tho' some time after these were Committed, the Accusers ceased to cry out of them; yet now the cry against them was renewed, which occasioned such Order; and tho there was partiality in the executing it (some having them taken off almost as soon as put on) yet the cry of these Accusers against such ceased after this Order.

May, 24. Mrs. *Cary* of *Charlestown*, was Examined and Committed. Her Husband Mr. *Nathaniel Cary* has given account thereof, as also of their Escape, to this Effect,

'having heard some days, that my Wife was accused of Witchcraft, being much disturbed at it, by advice, we went to Salem-*Village, to see if the afflicted*

flicted did know her; we arrived there, 24. May, *it happened to be a day appointed for Examination; accordingly soon after our arrival,* Mr. Hathorn *and* Mr. Curwin, &c. *went to the Meeting-house, which was the place appointed for that Work, the Minimister began with Prayer, and having taken care to get a convenient place, I observed, that the afflicted were two Girls of about Ten Years old, and about two or three other, of about eighteen, one of the Girls talked most, and could discern more than the rest. The Prisoners were called in one by one, and as they came in were cried out of,* &c. *The Prisoner was placed about 7 or 8 foot from the Justices, and the Accusers between the Justices and them; the Prisoner was ordered to stand right before the Justices, with an Officer appointed to hold each hand, least they should therewith afflict them, and the Prisoners Eyes must be constantly on the Justices for if they look'd on the afflicted, they would either fall into their Fits, or cry out of being hurt by them; after Examination of the Prisoners, who it was afflicted these Girls,* &c. *they were put upon saying the Lords Prayer, as a tryal of their guilt; after the afflicted seem'd to be out of their Fits, they would look stedfastly on some one person, and frequently not speak; and then the Justices said they were struck dumb, and after a little time would speak again; then the Justices said to the Accusers, which of you will go and touch the Prisoner at the Bar? then the most courageous would adventure, but before they had made three steps would ordinarily fall down as in a Fit; the Justices ordered that they should be taken up and carried to the Prisoner, that she might touch them; and as soon as they were touched by the accused, the Justices would say, they are well, before I could discern any alteration; by which I observed that the Justices understood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a Spectator, my Wife also was there part of the time, but no notice taken of her by the afflicted, except once or twice they came to her and asked her name.*

But I having an opportunity to Discourse Mr. Hale (*with whom I had formerly acquaintance*) *I took his advice, what I had best to do, and desired him that I might have an opportunity to speak with her that accused my Wife, which he promised should be, I acquainting him that I reposed my trust in him.*

Accordingly he came to me after the Examination was over, and told me I had now an opportunity to speak with the said Accuser, viz. Abigail Willian *a Girl of* 11, *or* 12 *Years old; but that we could not be in private at* Mr. Parris's *House, as he had promised me; we went therefore into the Alehouse where an* Indian *Man attended us, who it seems was one of the afflicted: to him we gave some Cyder, he shewed several Scars, that seemed as if they had been long there, and shewed them as done by Witchcraft, and acquainted us that his Wife, who also was a Slave, was imprisoned for Witchcraft. And now instead of one Accuser, they all came in, who began to tumble down like Swine and then three Women were called in to attend them. We in the Room were all at a stand, to see who they would cry out of; but in a short time they cried*

o

out, Cary; *and immediately after a Warrant was sent from the Justices to bring my Wife before them, who were sitting in a Chamber near by, waiting for this.*

Being brought before the Justices, her chief accusers were two Girls; my Wife declared to the Justices, that she never had any knowledge of them before that day; she was forced to stand with her Arms stretched out. I did request that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then she desired me to wipe the Tears from her Eyes, and the Sweat from her Face, which I did; then she desired she might lean her self on me, saying, she should faint.

Justice Hathorn *replied, she had strength enough to torment those persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. I speaking something against their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be silent, or else I should be turned out of the Room. The* Indian *before mentioned, was also brought in, to be one of her Accusers: being come in, he now (when before the Justices) fell down and tumbled about like a Hog, but said nothing. The Justices asked the Girls, who afflicted the* Indian? *they answered she (meaning my Wife) and now lay upon him; the Justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, least instead of curing, she should make him worse, by her looking on him, her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the* Indian *took hold on her hand, and pulled her down on the Floor, in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought. I being extreamly troubled at their Inhumane dealings, uttered a hasty Speech* [That God would take vengeance on them, and desired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men.] *Then her Mittimus was writ. I did with difficulty andcharge obtain the liberty of a Room, but no Beds in it; if there had, could have taken but little rest that Night, she was committed to* Boston *Prison; but I obtained a* Habeas Corpus *to remove her to* Cambridge *Prison, which is in our County of* Middlesex. *Having been there one Night, next Morning the Jaylor put Irons on her legs (having received such a command) the weight of them was about eight pounds; these Irons and her other Afflictions, soon brought her into Convulsion Fits, so that I thought she would have died that Night, I sent to intreat that the Irons might be taken off, but all intreaties were in vain, if it would have saved her Life, so that in this condition she must continue. The Tryals at* Salem *coming on, I went thither, to see how things were there managed; and finding that the Spectre-Evidence was there received, together with Idle, if not malicious Stories, against Peoples Lives, I did easily perceive which way the rest would go; for the same Evidence that served for one, would serve for all the rest, I acquainted her with her danger; and that if she were carried to* Salem *to be tried, I feared she would never return. I did my utmost that she might have her Tryal in our own County, I with several others Petitioning the Judge for it, and were put in hopes of it;*

but I soon saw so much, that I understood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon consulting the means of her escape; which thro the goodness of God was effected, and she got to Road-Island, *but soon found her self not safe when there, by reason of the pursuit after her; from thence she went to* New-York, *along with some others that had escaped their cruel hands; where we found his Excellency* Benjamin Fletcher *Esq; Governour, who was very courteous to us. After this some of my Goods were seized in a Friends hands, with whom I had left them, and my self imprisoned by the Sheriff, and kept in Custody half a day, and then dismist; but to speak of their usage of the Prisoners, and their Inhumanity shewn to them, at the time of their Execution, no sober Christian could bear; they had also tryals of cruel mockings; which is the more, considering what a People for Religion, I mean the profession of it, we have been; those that suffered being many of them Church-Members, and most of them unspotted in their Conversation, till their Adversary the Devil took up this Method for accusing them.*

Per Jonathan Cary.

May, 31. Captain *John Aldin* was Examined at *Salem*, and Committed to *Boston* Prison, the Prison-Keeper seeing such a Man Committed, of whom he had a good esteem, was after this the more Compassionate to those that were in Prison on the like account; and did refrain from such hard things to the Prisoners, as before he had used. Mr. *Aldin* himself has given account of his Examination, in these Words.

An Account how *John Aldin*, Senior, was dealt with at *Salem*-Village.

John Aldin Senior, of Boston, *in the County of* Suffolk, *Marriner; on the 28th. Day of* May 1692, *was sent for by the Magistrates of* Salem, *in the County of* Essex, *upon the Accusation of a company of poor distracted, or possessed Creatures or Witches; and being sent by Mr.* Stoughton, *arrived there the 31st of* May, *and appeared at* Salem-*Village, before Mr.* Gidney *Mr.* Hathorn, *and Mr.* Curwin.

These Wenches being present, who plaid their jugling tricks, falling down, crying out, and staring in Peoples Faces; the Magistrates demanded of them several times, who it was of all the People in the Room that hurt them? one of these Accusers pointed several times at one Captain Hill, *there present, but spake nothing; the same Accuser, had a Man standing at her back to hold her up; he stooped down to her Ear, then she cried out,* Aldin, Aldin *afflicted her; one of the Magistrates asked her if she had ever seen* Aldin, *she answered no, he asked how she knew it was* Aldin? *She said, the Man told her so.*

Then all were ordered to go down into the Street, where a Ring was made; and the same Accuser cried out, there stands Aldin, *a bold fellow with his Hat on before the Judges, he sells Powder and Shot to the* Indians *and* French, *an!*

and lies with the Indian *Squaes, and has* Indian *Papooses. Then was* Aldin *committed to the Marshal's Custody, and his Sword taken from him ; for they said he afflicted them with his Sword. After some hours* Aldin *was sent for to the Meeting-house in the Village before the Magistrates ; who required* Aldin *to stand upon a Chair, to the open view of all the People.*

The Accusers cried out that Aldin *did pinch them, then, when he stood upon the Chair, in the sight of all the People, a good way distant from them, one of the Magistrates bid the Marshal to hold open* Aldin's *hands, that he might not pinch those Creatures.* Aldin *asked them why they should think, that he should come to that Village to afflict those persons that he never knew or saw before? Mr.* Gidney *bid* Aldin *confess, and give glory to God ;* Aldin *said he hoped he should give glory to God, and hoped he should never gratifie the Devil ; but appealed to all that ever knew him, if they ever suspected him to be such a person, and challenged any one, that could bring in any thing upon their own knowledge, that might give suspicion of his being such an one. Mr.* Gidney *said he had known* Aldin *many Years, and had been at Sea with him, and always look'd upon him to be an honest Man, but now he did see cause to alter his judgment :* Aldin *answered, he was sorry for that, but he hoped God would clear up his Innocency, that he would recall that judgment again, and added that he hoped that he should with* Job *maintain his Integrity till he died. They bid* Aldin *look upon the Accusers, which he did, and then they fell down.* Aldin *asked Mr.* Gidney, *what Reason there could be given, why* Aldin's *looking upon* him *did not strike* him *down as well ; but no reason was given that I heard. But the Accusers were brought to* Aldin *to touch them, and this touch they said made them well.* Aldin *began to speak of the Providence of God, in suffering these Creatures to accuse Innocent persons, Mr.* Noyes *asked* Aldin *why he would offer to speak of the Providence of God, God by his Providence (said Mr.* Noyes) *governs the World, and keeps it in peace ; and so went on with Discourse, and stopt* Aldin's *mouth, as to that.* Aldin *told Mr.* Gidney, *that he could assure him that there was a lying Spirit in them, for I can assure you that there is not a word of truth in all these say of me. But* Aldin *was again committed to the Marshal, and his Mittimus written, which was as follows.*

To Mr. *John Arnold,* Keeper of the Prison in *Boston,* in the County of *Suffolk.*

WHereas Captain John Aldin *of* Boston, *Marriner, and* Sarah Rice, *Wife of* Nicholas Rice *of* Reding, *Husbandman, have been this day brought before us,* John Hathorn, *and* Jonathan Curwin, *Esquires ; being accused and suspected of perpetrating divers acts of Witchcraft, contrary to the form of the Statute, in that Case made and provided : These are therefore*

in Their Majesties, King William *and Queen* Marys *Names, to Will and require you, to take into your Custody, the bodies of the said* John Aldin, *and* Sarah Rice, *and them safely keep, until they shall thence be delivered by due course of Law; as you will answer the contrary at your peril; and this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given under our hands at* Salem *Village, the* 31*st. of* May, *in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady,* William *and* Mary, *now King and Queen over* England, &c. Anno Dom. 1692.

John Hathorn, } Assistants.
Jonathan Curwin }

To Boston Aldin *was carried by a Constable, no Bail would be taken for him; but was delivered to the Prison-keeper, where he remained Fifteen Weeks; and then observing the manner of Tryals, and Evidence then taken, was at length prevailed with to make his Escape, and being returned, was bound over to Answer at the Superiour Court at* Boston, *the last* Tuesday *in* April, Anno, 1693. *And was there cleared by Proclamation, none appearing against him.*

Per. John Aldin.

At Examination, and at other times, 'twas usual for the Accusers to tell of the black Man, or of a Spectre, as being then on the Table, &c. The People about would strike with Swords, or sticks at those places. One Justice broke his Cane at this Exercise, and sometimes the Accusers would say, they struck the Spectre, and it is reported several of the accused were hurt and wounded thereby, though at home at the same time.

The Justices proceeding in these works of Examination, and Commitment, to the end of *May*; there was by that time about a Hundred persons Imprisoned upon that Account.

June. 2. A special Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, having been Issued out, to Mr. *Stoughton*, the New Lieutenant Governour; Major *Saltonstall*, Major *Richards*, Major *Gidny*, Mr. *Wait Winthrop*, Captain *Sewall*, and Mr. *Sergeant*; These (a *Quorum* of them) sat at *Salem* this day, where the most that was done this Week, was the Tryal of one *Bishop*, alias *Oliver*, of *Salem*; who having long undergone the repute of a Witch, occasioned by the Accusations of one *Samuel Gray*: he about 20 Years since, having charged her with such Crimes, and though upon his Death-bed, he testified his sorrow and repentance for such Accusations, as being wholly groundless; yet the report taken up by his means continued, and she being accused by those afflicted, and upon search a Tet, as they call it, being found, she was brought in guilty by the Jury; she received

received her Sentence of Death, and was Executed, *June* 10. but made not the least Confession of any thing relating to Witchcraft.

June 15. Several Ministers in and near *Boston*, having been to that end consulted by his Excellency, expresst their minds to this effect, *viz.*

That they were affected with the deplorable state of the afflicted; That they were thankful for the diligent care of the Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Country, praying for a perfect discovery thereof. But advised to a cautious proceeding, least many Evils insue, *&c.* And that tenderness be used towards those accused, relating to matters presumptive and convictive, and also to privacy in Examinations, and to consult Mr. *Perkins*, and Mr. *Bernard*, what tests to make use of in the Scrutiny: That Presumptions and Convictions ought to have better grounds, than the Accusers affirming that they see such persons Spectres afflicting of them: And that the Devil may afflict in the shape of good Men; and that falling at the sight, and rising at the touch of the Accused, is no infallible proof of guilt; That seeing the Devils strength consists in such Accusations, our disbelieving them may be a means to put a period to the dreadful Calamities; Nevertheless they humbly recommend to the Government, the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the direction given in the Laws of God, and the wholesome Statutes of the *English* Nation, for the Detection of Witchcraft.

This is briefly the substance of what may be seen more at large in *Cases of Conscience. (ult.)* And one of them since taking occasion to repeat some part of this advice, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 83. declares, (notwithstanding the Dissatisfaction of others) that if his said Book may conduce to promote thankfulness to God for such Executions, he shall rejoyce, *&c.*

The 30*th.* of *June*, the Court according to Adjournment again sat; five more were tried, *viz. Sarah Good*, and *Rebecca Nurse*, of *Salem*-Village; *Susanna Martin* of *Amsbury*; *Elizabeth How* of *Ipswich*; and *Sarah Wildes* of *Topsfield*; these were all condemned that Sessions, and were all Executed on the 19th. of *July*.

At the Tryal of *Sarah Good*, one of the afflicted fell in a Fit, and after coming out of it, she cried out of the Prisoner, for stabing her in the breast with a Knife, and that she had broken the Knife in stabbing of her, accordingly a piece of the blade of a Knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the Court, a young Man was called, who produced a Haft and part of the Blade, which the Court having viewed and compared, saw it to be the same. And upon inquiry the young Man affirmed, that yesterday he happened to break that Knife, and that he cast away the upper part, this afflicted person being then present,

present, the young Man was dismist, and she was bidden by the Court not to tell lyes; and was improved after (as she had been before) to give Evidence against the Prisoners.

At Execution, Mr. *Noyes* urged *Sarah Good* to Confess, and told her she was a Witch, and she knew she was a Witch, to which she replied, you are a lyer; I am no more a Witch than you are a Wizard, and if you take away my Life, God will give you Blood to drink.

At the Tryal of *Rebecka Nurse*, this was remarkable that the Jury brought in their Verdict not Guilty, immediately all the accusers in the Court, and suddenly after all the afflicted out of Court, made an hideous out-cry, to the amazement, not only of the Spectators, but the Court also seemed strangely surprized; one of the Judges exprest himself not satisfied, another of them as he was going off the Bench, said they would have her Indicted anew. The chief Judge said he would not Impose upon the Jury; but intimated, as if they had not well considered one Expression of the Prisoners, when she was upon Tryal, *viz.* That when one *Hobbs*, who had confessed her self to be a Witch, was brought into the Court to witness against her, the Prisoner turning her head to her, said [*What do you bring her? She is one of us*] or to that effect, this together with the Clamours of the Accusers, induced the Jury to go out again, after their Verdict, not Guilty. But not agreeing, they came into the Court, and she being then at the Bar, her words were repeated to her, in order to have had her explanation of them, and she making no Reply to them, they found the Bill, and brought her in Guilty; these words being the Inducement to it, as the Foreman has signified in writing, as follows.

July, 4. 1692. *I* Thomas Fisk, *the Subscriber hereof, being one of them that were of the Jury the last Week at* Salem-*Court, upon the Tryal of* Rebecka Nurse, &c. *being desired by some of the Relations to give a Reason why the Jury brought her in Guilty, after her Verdict not Guilty; I do hereby give my Reasons to be as follows*, viz.

When the Verdict not Guilty was, the honoured Court was pleased to object against it, saying to them, that they think they let slip the words, which the Prisoner at the Bar spake against her self, which were spoken in reply to Goodwife Hobbs *and her Daughter, who had been faulty in setting their hands to the Devils Book, as they have confessed formerly; the words were* [What do these persons give in Evidence against me now, they used to come among us.] *After the honoured Court had manifested their dissatisfaction of the Verdict, several of the Jury declared themselves desirous to go out again, and thereupon the honoured Court gave leave; but when we came to consider of the Case, I could not tell how to take her words, as an Evidence against her, till she had a further opportunity to put her Sense upon them, if she would take it; and then going into Court, I mentioned the words aforesaid, which by one of the*

Court

Court were affirmed to have been spoken by her, she being then at the Bar, but made no reply, nor interpretation of them; whereupon these words were to me a principal Evidence against her.

Thomas Fisk.

When Goodwife *Nurse* was informed what use was made of these words, she put in this following Declaration into the Court.

These presents do humbly shew, to the honoured Court and Jury, that I being informed, that the Jury brought me in Guilty, upon my saying that Goodwife Hobbs *and her Daughter were of our Company; but I intended no otherways, then as they were Prisoners with us, and therefore did then, and yet do judge them not legal Evidence against their fellow Prisoners. And I being something hard of hearing, and full of grief, none informing me how the Court took up my words, and therefore had not opportunity to declare what I intended, when I said they were of our Company.* Rebecka Nurse.

After her Condemnation she was by one of the Ministers of *Salem* excommunicated; yet the Governour saw cause to grant a Reprieve, which when known (and some say immediately upon granting) the Accusers renewed their dismal outcries against her, insomuch that the Governour was by some *Salem* Gentleman prevailed with to recall the Reprieve, and he was Executed with the rest.

The Testimonials of her Christian behaviour, both in the course of her Life, and at her Death, and her extraordinary care in educating her Children, and setting them good Examples, *&c.* under the hands of so many, are so numerous, that for brevity they are here omitted.

It was at the Tryal of these that one of the Accusers cried out publickly of Mr. *Willard* Minister in *Boston*, as afflicting of her, she was sent out of the Court, and it was told about she was mistaken in the person.

August, 5. The Court again sitting, six more were tried on the same Account, *viz.* Mr, *George Burroughs*, sometime Minister of *Wells*, *John Procter*, and *Elizabeth Procter* his Wife, with *John Willard* of *Salem*-Village, *George Jacobs* Senior, of *Salem*, and *Martha Carryer* of *Andover*; these were all brought in Guilty and Condemned; and were all Executed, *Aug.* 19. except *Procters* Wife, who pleaded Pregnancy.

Mr. *Burroughs* was carried in a Cart with the others, through the Streets of *Salem* to Execution; when he was upon the Ladder, he made a Speech for the clearing of his Innocency, with such Solemn and Serious Expressions, as were to the Admiration of all present; his Prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer) was so well worded and uttered with such composedness, and such (at least seeming) fervency of

Spirit,

Spirit, as was very affecting, and drew Tears from many (so that it seemed to some, that the Spectators would hinder the Execution) the accusers said the black Man stood and dictated to him; as soon as he was turned off, Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being mounted upon a Horse, addressed himself to the People, partly to declare, that he was no ordained Minister, and partly to possess the People of his guilt; saying, That the Devil has often been transformed into an Angel of Light; and this did somewhat appease the People, and the Executions went on; when he was cut down, he was dragged by the Halter to a Hole, or Grave, between the Rocks, about two Foot deep, his Shirt and Breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of Trousers of one Executed, put on his lower parts, he was so put in, together with *Willard* and *Carryer*, one of his Hands and his Chin, and a Foot of one them being left uncovered.

John Willard, had been imployed to fetch in several that were accused; but taking dissatisfaction from his being sent, to fetch up some that he had better thoughts of, he declined the Service, and presently after he himself was accused of the same Crime, and that with such vehemency, that they sent after him to apprehend him; he had made his Escape as far as *Nashawag*, about 40 Miles from *Salem*; yet 'tis said those Accusers did then presently tell the exact time, saying, now *Willard* is taken.

John Procter and his Wife being in Prison, the Sheriff came to his House and seized all the Goods, Provisions, and Cattle that he could come at, and sold some of the Cattle at half price, and killed others, and put them up for the *West-Indies*; threw out the Beer out of a Barrel, and carried away the Barrel; emptied a Pot of Broath, and took away the Pot, and left nothing in the House for the support of the Children: No part of the said Goods are known to be returned. *Procter* earnestly requested Mr. *Noyes* to pray with and for him, but it was wholly denied, because he would not own himself to be a Witch.

During his Imprisonment he sent the following Letter, in behalf of himself and others.

Mr. *Mather*, Mr. *Allen*,
Mr. *Moody*, Mr. *Willard*, and } Salem-*Prison*, July, 23. 1692.
Mr. *Bailey*.

Reverend Gentlemen.

THE Innocency of our Case with the Enmity of our Accusers and our Judges, and Jury, whom nothing but our Innocent Blood will serve their turn, having Condemned us already before our Tryals, being so much incensed and engaged against us by the Devil, makes us bold to Beg and Implore your Favourable Assistance of this our Humble Petition

Petition to his Excellency, That if it be possible our Innocent Blood may be spared, which undoubtedly otherwise will be shed, if the Lord doth not mercifully step in. The Magistrates, Ministers, Jewries, and all the People in general, being so much inraged and incensed against us by the Delusion of the Devil, which we can term no other, by reason we know in our own Consciences, we are all Innocent Persons. Here are five Persons who have lately confessed themselves to be Witches, and do accuse some of us, of being along with them at a Sacrament, since we were committed into close Prison, which we know to be Lies. Two of the 5 are (Carriers Sons) *Young-men, who would not confess any thing till they tyed them Neck and Heels till the Blood was ready to come out of their Noses, and 'tis credibly believed and reported this was the occasion of making them confess that they never did, by reason they said one had been a Witch a Month, and another five Weeks, and that their Mother had made them so, who has been confined here this nine Weeks. My Son* William Procter, *when he was examin'd, because he would not confess that he was Guilty, when he was Innocent, they tyed him Neck and Heels till the Blood gushed out at his Nose, and would have kept him so 24 Hours, if one more Merciful then the rest, had not taken pity on him, and caused him to be unbound. These Actions are very like the* Popish *Cruelties. They have already undone us in our Estates, and that will not serve their turns, without our Innocent Bloods. If it cannot be granted that we can have our Trials at* Boston, *we humbly beg that you would endeavour to have these Magistrates changed, and others in their rooms, begging also and beseeching you would be pleased to be here, if not all, some of you at our Trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of saving the shedding our Innocent Bloods, desiring your Prayers to the Lord in Our behalf, we rest your Poor Afflicted Servants,* John Procter, *&c.*

He pleaded very hard at Execution, for a little respite of time, saying that he was not fit to Die; but it was not granted.

Old *Jacobs* being Condemned, the Sheriff and Officers came and seized all he had, his Wife had her Wedding Ring taken from her, but with great difficulty obtained it again. She was forced to buy Provisions of the Sheriff, such as he had taken, towards her own support, which not being sufficient, the Neighbours of Charity relieved her.

Margaret Jacobs being one that had confessed her own Guilt. and testified against her Grand-Father *Jacobs*, Mr. *Burroughs*, and *John Willard*, She the day before Executions, came to Mr. *Burroughs*, acknowledging that she had belyed them, and begged Mr. *Burroughs* Forgiveness, who not only forgave her, but also Prayed with and for her. She wrote the following Letter to her *Father*.

From the Dungeon in *Salem*-Prison, *August*. 20. 92.

Honoured Father,

After my Humble Duty Remembred to you, hoping in the Lord of your good Health, as Blessed be God I enjoy, tho in abundance of Affliction, being close confined here in a loathsome Dungeon, the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how soon I shall be put to Death, by means of the Afflicted Persons; my Grand-Father having Suffered already, and all his Estate Seized for the King. The reason of my Confinement is this, I having, through the Magistrates Threatnings, and my own Vile and Wretched

Heart, confessed several things contrary so my Conscience and Knowledg, tho to the Wounding of my own Soul, the Lord pardon me for it; but Oh! the terrors of a wounded Conscience who can bear. But blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my Sins, but in mercy I hope so my Soul would not suffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the Magistrates, who would not believe me, but tis their pleasure to put me in here, and God knows how soon I shall be put to Death. Dear Father, let me beg your Prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and send us a Joyful and Happy meeting in Heaven. My Mother poor Woman is very Crazey, and remembers her kind Love to you, and to Uncle, viz. D. A. *So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I rest your Dutiful Daughter,* Margaret Jacobs.

At the time appointed for her Tryal, she had an Impofthume in her head, which was her Escape.

September 9. Six more were tried, and received Sentance of Death, viz. *Martha Cory* of *Salem*-Village, *Mary Easty* of *Topsfield*, *Alice Parker* and *Ann Pudeater* of *Salem*, *Dorcas Hoar* of *Beverly*, and *Mary Bradberry* of *Salisbury*. September 16. *Giles Cory* was prest to Death.

September 17. Nine more received Sentance of Death, viz. *Margaret Scot* of *Rowly*, Goodwife *Redd* of *Marblehead*, *Samuel Wardwell*, and *Mary Parker* of *Andover*, also *Abigail Falkner* of *Andover*, who pleaded Pregnancy, *Rebecka Eames* of *Boxford*, *Mary Lacy*, and *Ann Foster* of *Andover*, and *Abigail Hobbs* of *Topsfield*. Of these Eight were Executed, *September* 22. viz. *Martha Cory*, *Mary Easty*, *Alice Parker*, *Ann Pudeater*, *Margaret Scot*, *Willmet Redd*, *Samuel Wardwell*, and *Mary Parker*.

Giles Cory pleaded not Guilty to his Indictment, but would not put himself upon Tryal by the Jury (they having cleared none upon Tryal) and knowing there would be the same Witnesses against him, rather chose to undergo what Death they would put him to. In pressing his Tongue being prest out of his Mouth, the Sheriff with his Cane forced it in again, when he was dying. He was the first in *New England*, that was ever prest to Death.

The Cart going go the Hill with these Eight to Execution, was for some time at a sett; the afflicted and others said, that the Devil hindred it, *&c.*

Martha Cory, Wife to *Giles Cory*, protesting her Innocency, concluded her Life with an Eminent Prayer upon the Ladder.

Wardwell having formerly confessed himself Guilty, and after denied it, was soon brought upon his Tryal; his former Confession and Spectre Testimony was all that appeared against him. At Execution while he was speaking to the People, protesting his Innocency, the Executioner being at the same time smoaking Tobacco, the smoak coming in his Face, interrupted his Discourse, those Accusers said, the Devil hindred him with smoak.

Mary

Mary Eaſty, Siſter alſo to *Rebecka Nurſe*, when ſhe took her laſt farewell of her Husband, Children and Friends, was, as is reported by them preſent, as Serious, Religious, Diſtinct, and Affectionate as could well be expreſt, drawing Tears from the Eyes of almoſt all preſent. It ſeems beſides the Teſtimony of the Accuſers and Confeſſors, another proof, as it was counted, appeared againſt her, it having been uſual to ſearch the Accuſed for Tets; upon ſome parts of her Body, not here to be named, was found an Excreſcence, which they called a Tet. Before her Death ſhe put up the following Petition,

To the Honourable Judge and Bench now ſitting in Judicature in Salem, *and the Reverend Miniſters, humbly ſheweth, That whereas your humble poor Petitioner being Condemned to die, doth humbly beg of you, to take it into your Judicious and Pious Conſideration, that your poor and humble Petitioner knowing my own Innocency* (bleſſed be the Lord for it) *and ſeeing plainly the Wiles and Subtilty of my Accuſers, by my ſelf, cannot but judge charitably of others, that are going the ſame way with my ſelf, if the Lord ſtep not mightily in. I was confined a whole Month on the ſame account that I am now condemned for, and then cleared by the Afflicted perſons, as ſome of your Honours know, and in two days time I was cried out upon by them, and have been confined, and now am condemned to die. The Lord above knows my Innocency then, and likewiſe doth now, as at the great day will be known to Men and Angels. I Petition to your Honours not for my own Life, for I know I muſt die, and my appointed time is ſet; but the Lord he knows it is, if it be poſſible, that no more Innocent Blood be ſhed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and courſe you go in. I queſtion not, but your Honours do to the utmoſt of your powers, in the diſcovery and detecting of Witchcraft and Witches, and would not be guilty of Innocent Blood for the World; but by my own Innocency I know you are in the wrong way, the Lord in his infinite Mercy direct you in this great work, if it be his bleſſed will, that Innocent Blood be not ſhed; I would humbly beg of you, that your Honours would be pleaſed to Examine ſome of thoſe confeſſing Witches, I being confident there are ſeveral of them have belyed themſelves and others, as will appear, if not in this World, I am ſure in the World to come, whither I am going; and I queſtion not, but your ſelves will ſee an alteration in theſe things: They ſay, my ſelf and others have made a league with the Devil, we cannot confeſs, I know and the Lord he knows (as will ſhortly appear) they belye me, and ſo I queſtion not but they do others; the Lord alone who is the ſearcher of all hearts, knows that as I ſhall anſwer it at the Tribunal Seat, that I know not the leaſt thing of Witchcraft, therefore I cannot, I durſt not belye my own Soul. I beg your Honours not to deny this my humble Petition, from a poor dying Innocent perſon, and I queſtion not but the Lord will give a bleſſing to your Endeavours.*

Mary Eſty.

After Execution Mr. *Noyes* turning him to the Bodies, said, what a sad thing it is to see Eight Firebrands of Hell hanging there.

In *October*, 1692, One of *Wenham* complained of Mrs. *Hale*, whose Husband the Minister of *Beverly*, had been very forward in these Prosecutions, but being fully satisfied of his Wives sincere Christianity, caused him to alter his Judgment; for it was come to a stated Controversie, among the *New-England* Divines, whether the Devil could Afflict in a good Man's shape; it seems nothing else could convince him: yet when it came so near to himself, he was soon convinc'd that the Devil might so Afflict. Which same reason did afterwards prevail with many others; and much influenced to the succeeding change at Tryals.

October, 7. (*Edward Bishop* and his Wife having made their Escape out of Prison) this day Mr. *Corwin* the Sheriff, came and Seiz'd his Goods, and Cattle, and had it not been for his second Son (who borrowed Ten Pound and gave it him) they had been wholly lost, the Receipt follows; but it seems they must be content with such a Receipt as he would give them.

Received this 7th. day of October, 1692. *of* Samuel Bishop, *of the Town of* Salem, *of the County of* Essex, *in* New-England, *Cordwainer, in full satisfaction, a valuable Summ of Money, for the Goods and Chattels of* Edward Bishop, *Senior, of the Town and County aforesaid, Husbandman; which Goods and Chattels being seized, for that the said* Edward Bishop, *and* Sarah *his Wife, having been committed for Witchcraft and Felony, have made their Escape; and their Goods and Chattles were forfeited unto their Majesties, and now being in Possession of the said* Samuel Bishop; *and in behalf of Their Majesties, I do hereby discharge the said Goods and Chattles, the day and year above written, as witness my hand,* George Corwin, *sheriff.*

But before this the said *Bishops* Eldest Son, having Married into that Family of the *Putmans*, who were chief Prosecutors in this business; he holding a Cow to be branded left it should be seiz'd, and having a Push or Boyl upon his Thigh, with his straining it broke; this is that that was pretended to be burnt with the said Brand; and is one of the bones thrown to the Dogmatical to pick, *in Wonders of the Invisible World*, P. 143. the other of a Corner of a Sheet, pretended to be taken from a Spectre, it is known that it was provided the day before, by that Afflicted person, and the third bone of a Spindle is almost as easily provided, as the piece of the Knife; so that *Apollo* needs not herein be consulted, *&c.*

Mr. *Philip English*, and his Wife having made their Escape out of Prison, Mr. *Corwin* the Sheriff seiz'd his Estate, to the value of about Fifteen Hundred Pound, which was wholly lost to him, except about Three Hundred Pound value, (which was afterward restored).

After Goodwife *Hoar* was Condemned, her Estate was seiz'd, and was also bought again for Eight Pound.

George Jacobs, Son to old *Jacobs* being accused, he fled, then the Officers came to his House, his Wife was a Woman Crazy in her Senses and had been so several Years She it seems had been also accused, there were in the House with her only four small Children, and one of them suck'd her Eldest Daughter, being in Prison; the Officer perswaded her out of the House, to go along with him, telling her she should speedily return, the Children ran a great way after her crying.

When she came where the Afflicted were, being asked, they said they did not know her, at length one said, don't you know *Jacobs* the old Witch, and then they cry'd out of her, and fell down in their Fits; she was sent to Prison, and lay there Ten Months, the Neighbours of pitty took care of the Children to preserve them from perishing.

About this time a New Scene was begun, one *Joseph Ballard* of *Andover*, whose Wife was ill (and after died of a Fever) sent to *Salem* for some of those Accusers, to tell him who afflicted his Wife; others did the like: Horse and Man were sent from several places to fetch those Accusers who had the Spectral sight, that they might thereby tell who afflicted those that were any ways ill.

When these came into any place where such were, usually they fell into a Fit; after which being asked who it was that afflicted the person, they would, for the most part, name one whom they said sat on the head, and another that sat on the lower parts of the afflicted. Soon after *Ballard*'s sending (as above) more than Fifty of the People of *Andover* were complained of, for afflicting their Neighbours. Here it was that many accused themselves, of Riding upon Poles through the Air; Many Parents believing their Children to be Witches, and many Husbands their Wives, *&c.* When these Accusers came to the House of any upon such account, it was ordinary for other young People to be taken in Fits, and to have the same Spectral sight.

Mr. *Dudley Bradstreet*, a Justice of Peace in *Andover*, having granted out Warrants against, and Committed Thirty or Forty to Prisons, for the supposed Witchcrafts, at length saw cause to forbear granting out any more Warrants. Soon after which he and his Wife were cried out of, himself was (by them) said to have killed Nine persons by Witchcraft, and found it his safest course to make his Escape.

A Dog being afflicted at *Salem*-Village, those that had the Spectral sight being sent for, they accused Mr. *John Bradstreet* (Brother to the Justice) that he afflicted the said Dog, and now rid upon him: He made his Escape into *Pescattequa*-Government, and the Dog was put to death, and was all of the Afflicted that suffered death.

At

At *Andover*, the Afflicted complained of a Dog, as afflicting of them, and would fall into their Fits at the Dogs looking upon them; the Dog was put to death.

A worthy Gentleman of *Boston*, being about this time accused by those at *Andover*, he sent by some particular Friends a Writ to Arrest those Accusers in a Thousand Pound Action for Defamation, with instructions to them, to inform themselves of the certainty of the proof, in doing which their business was perceived, and from thence forward the Accusations at *Andover* generally ceased.

In *October* some of these Accusers were sent for to *Gloucester*, and occasioned four VVomen to be sent to Prison, but *Salem* Prison being so full it could receive no more; two were sent to *Ipswich* Prison. In *November* they were sent for again by Lieutenant *Stephens*, who was told that a Sister of his was bewitched; in their way passing over *Ipswich*-Bridge, they met with an old *Woman*, and instantly fell into their Fits: But by this time the validity of such Accusations being much questioned, they found not that Encouragement they had done elsewhere, and soon withdrew.

These Accusers swore that they saw three persons sitting upon Lieutenant *Stephens*'s Sister till she died; yet Bond was accepted for those Three.

And now Nineteen persons having been hang'd, and one prest to death, and Eight more condemned, in all Twenty and Eight, of which above a third part were Members of some of the Churches in *N.England*, and more than half of them of a good Conversation in general, and not one clear'd. About Fifty having confest themselves to be Witches, of which not one Executed; above an Hundred and Fifty in Prison, and above Two Hundred more accused. The Special Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* comes to a period, which had no other foundation than the Governours Commission, and had proceeded in the manner of swearing Witnesses, *viz.* By holding up the hand, (and by receiving Evidences in writing) according to the Ancient Usage of this Countrey; as also having their Indictments in *English*. In the Tryals, when any were Indicted for Afflicting, Pining, and wasting the Bodies of particular persons by Witchcraft; it was usal to hear Evidence of matter foreign, and of perhaps Twenty or Thirty Years standing, about over-setting Carts, the death of Cattle, unkindness to Relations, or unexpected Accidents befalling after some quarrel. Whether this was admitted by the Law of *England*, or by what other Law, wants to be determined; the Executions seemed mixt, in pressing to death for not pleading, which most agrees with the Laws of *England*, and Sentencing Women to be hanged for Witchcraft, according to the former practice of this Country, and not by burning, as is said to have been the Law of *England*. And though the confessing Witches were many; yet not one of them that confessed their own guilt, and abode by their Confession were put to Death:

Here

Here followeth what account some of those miserable Creatures give of their Confession under their own hands.

We whose Names are under written, Inhabitants of Andover, *when as that horrible and tremendous Judgment beginning at* Salem-*Village, in the Year,* 1692. *(by some) call'd Witchcraft, first breaking forth at Mr.* Parris's *House, several Young persons being seemingly afflicted, did accuse several persons for afflicting them, and many there believing it so to be; we being informed that if a person were sick, that the afflicted persons could tell, what or who was the cause of that sickness.* Joseph Ballard *of* Andover (*his Wife being sick at the same time*) *he either from himself, or by the advice of others, fetch'd two of the persons call'd the afflicted persons, from* Salem-*Village to* Andover. *Which was the beginning of that dreadful Calamity that befel us in* Andover. *And the Authority in* Andover, *believing the said Accusations to be true, sent for the said persons to come together, to the Meeting-house in* Andover (*the afflicted persons being there.*) *After Mr.* Bernard *had been at Prayer, we were blindfolded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted persons, they being in their Fits, and falling into their Fits at our coming into their presence (as they said) and some led us and laid our hands upon them, and then they said they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting of them; whereupon we were all seized as Prisoners, by a Warrant from the Justice of the Peace, and forthwith carried to* Salem. *And by reason of that suddain surprizal, we knowing our selves altogether Innocent of that Crime, we were all exceedingly astonished and amazed, and consternated and affrighted even out of our Reason; and our neareſt and deareſt Relations, seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending that there was no other way to save our lives, as the case was then circumstantiated but by our confessing our selves to be such and such persons, as the afflicted represented us to be, they out of tender love and pitty perswaded us to confess what we did confess. And indeed that Confession, that is said we made, was no other than what was suggested to us by some Gentlemen; they telling us, that we were Witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it, which made us think that it was so; and our understanding, our reason, and our faculties almost gone; we were not capable of judging our condition; as also the hard measures they used with us, rendred us uncapable of making our Defence; but said any thing and every thing which they desired, and most of what we said, was but in effect a consenting to what they said. Sometime after when we were better composed, they telling of us what we had confessed, we did profess that we were Innocent, and Ignorant of such things. And we hearing that* Samuel Wardwell *had renounced his Confession, and quickly after Condemned and Executed, some of us were told that we were going after* Wardwell.

Mary Osgood, Mary Tiler, Deliv. Dane, Abigail Barker, Sarah Wilson, Hannah Tiler.

It

It may here be further added concerning those that did Confess, that besides that powerful Argument, of Life (and freedom from hardships, and Irons, not only promised, but also performed to all that owned their guilt.) There are numerous Instances, too many to be here inserted, of the tedious Examinations before private persons, many hours together they all that time urging them to Confess (and taking turns to perswade them) till the accused were wearied out, by being forced to stand so long, or for want of Sleep, *&c.* and so brought to give an Assent to what they said; they then asking them, Were you at such a Witch meeting, or have you signed the Devil's Book, *&c.* upon their replying, yes, the whole was drawn into form as their Confession.

But that which did mightily further such Confessions, was their nearest and dearest Relations urging them to it. These seeing no other way of escape for them, thought it the best advice that could be given; hence it was that the Husbands of some, by counsel often urging, and utmost earnestness, and Children upon their Knees intreating, have at length prevailed with them, to say they were guilty.

AS to the manner of Tryals, and the Evidence taken for Conviction at *Salem*, it is already set forth in Print, by the Reverend Mr. *Cotton Mather*, in his *Wonders of the Invisible World*, at the Command of his Excellency, Sir *William Phips*; with not only the Recommendation, but thanks of the Lieutenant Governour; and with the Approbation of the Reverend Mr. *J. M.* in his Postscript to his *Cases of Conscience*; which last Book was set forth by the consent of the Ministers in and near *Boston*.

Two of the Judges have also given their Sentiments in these words, P. 14.

The Reverend and worthy Author, having at the direction of his Excellency the Governour, so far obliged the Publick, as to give some account of the sufferings, brought upon the Countrey by Witchcrafts, and of the Tryals which have passed upon several executed for the same.

Upon perusal thereof, We find the matters of Fact and Evidence truly reported, and a prospect given of the Methods of Conviction, used in the proceedings of the Court at Salem.

Boston, October 11. 1692. William Stoughton, Samuel Sewall.

And considering that this may fall into the hands of such as never saw those Wonders, it may be needful to transcribe the whole account here given thereof, without any variation (but with one of the Indictments annext to the Tryal of each) which is thus prefaced, P. 81, 82, 83.

BUt I shall no longer detain my Reader from his expected entertainment, in a brief account of the Tryals, which have passed upon some of the Malefactors, lately Executed at *Salem*, for the Witchcrafts whereof they stood convicted. For my own part I was not present at any of them; nor ever had I any personal prejudice at the persons thus brought upon the Stage; much less, at the surviving Relations of those persons, with and for whom, I would be as hearty a mourner, as any Man living in the World: *The Lord comfort them!* But having received a command so to do, I can do no other than shortly relate the chief Matters of Fact, which occurr'd in the Tryals of some that were Executed; in an Abridgment collected out of the Court-Papers, on this occasion put into my hands. You are to take the truth, just as it was; and the truth will hurt no good Man. There might have been more of these, if my Book would not thereby have been swelled too big; and if some other Worthy hands did not perhaps intend something further in these Collections; for which cause I have only singled out four or five, which may serve to Illustrate the way of dealing, wherein Witchcrafts use to be concerned; and I report matters not as an Advocate, but as an Historian.

They were some of the Gracious words inserted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Ministers did this Summer humblylay before our Honourable Judges, We cannot but with all thankfulness, acknowledge the success, which the merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Assiduous Endeavours of our Honourable Rulers. to detect the Abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Country; Humbly praying that the discovery of those Mysterious, and Mischievous wickednesses, may be perfected. If in the midst of the many Dissatisfactions among us, the publication of these Tryals, may promote such a Pious thankfulness unto God, for Justice being so far executed among us, I shall rejoyce that God is glorified; and pray that no wrong steps of ours may ever sully any of his glorious works.

The Indictment of George Burroughs.

Essex ss. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto*----

THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady the King and Queen present, That *George Burroughs*, late of *Falmouth*, in the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, in *New-England*, Clerk.

The 9th. Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen Defenders of the

Faith, &c. And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Felloniouſly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, at and within the Townſhip of *Salem*, in the County of *Eſſex* aforeſaid, in upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem*-Village, in the County of *Eſſex*, Single woman, by which ſaid wicked Arts the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the Ninth day of *May*, in the fourth Year abovelaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Conſumed, Waſted and Tormented, againſt the Peace of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and againſt the Form of the Statute in that Caſe made and provided.

Witneſſes, *Mary Wolcott*, *Sarah Vibber*, *Mercy Lewis*, *Ann Putnam*, *Eliz. Hubbard*,

Endorſed by the Grand-Jury, *Billa Vera.*

There was alſo a ſecond Indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, the Witneſſes to the ſaid Indictment were *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Ann Putnam.*

The third Indictment was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis*; the Witneſſes, the ſaid *Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Ann Putnam.*

The fourth for acts of Witchcraft on *Ann Putnam*, the Witneſſes, the ſaid *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Wolcot*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Warren.*

The Tryal of G. B. *as Printed in* Wonders of the Inviſible World, *from* P. 94. *to* 104.

GLad ſhould I have been, if I had never known the name of this Man; or never had this occaſion to mention ſo much as the firſt Letters of his name. But the Government requiring ſome Account of his Tryal, to be inſerted in this Book, it becomes me with all obedience to ſubmit unto the Order.

1. This *G. B.* was Indicted for Witchcrafts; and in the Proſecution of the Charge againſt him, he was Accuſed by five or ſix of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miſeries; he was accuſed by Eight of the confeſſing Witches, as being an head Actor at ſome of their Helliſh Randezvouzes, and who had the promiſe of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, now going to be erected; he was accuſed by Nine perſons, for extraordinary lifting, and ſuch feats of ſtrength as could not be done without a Diabolical Aſſiſtance. And for other ſuch things he was accuſed, until about Thirty Teſtimonies were brought in againſt him; nor were theſe, judg'd the half of what might have been conſider'd, for his Conviction: however they were enough to fix the Character of a Witch upon him, according to the Rules of Reaſoning, by the Judicious *Gaule*, in that caſe directed.

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The Court being ſenſible, that the Teſtimonies of the Parties Bewitched, uſe to have a Room among the Suſpicions, or Preſumptions, brought in againſt one Indicted for Witchcraft, there were now heard the Teſtimonies of ſeveral Perſons, who were moſt notoriouſly bewitched, and every day tortured by Inviſible hands, and theſe now all charged the Spectres of *G. B.* to have a ſhare in their Torments. At the Examination of this *G. B.* the bewitched People were grievouſly harraſſed, with preternatural Miſchiefs, which could not poſſibly be diſſembled; and they ſtill aſcribed it unto the Endeavours of *G. B.* to kill them. And now upon his Tryal, one of the bewitched perſons teſtified, That in her *Agonies* a little Black-haired-Man came to her, ſaying his name was *B.* and bidding her ſet her hand unto a Book, which he ſhewed unto her; and bragging that he was a Conjurer above the ordinary Rank of Witches; that he often perſecuted her, with the offer of that Book, ſaying, ſhe ſhould be well, and need fear no body, if ſhe would but ſign it: but he inflicted cruel pains and hurts upon her, becauſe of her denying ſo to do. The Teſtimonies of the other Sufferers concurred with theſe; and it was remarkable, that whereas Biting, was one of the ways, which the Witches uſed, for the vexing of the Sufferers, when they cry'd out of *G. B.* biting them, the print of his Teeth would be ſeen on the Fleſh of the Complainers; and juſt ſuch a ſett of Teeth as *G. B*'s. would then appear upon them, which could be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of ſome other Mens.

Others of them teſtified, that in their Torments *G. B.* tempted them to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him with a ſound of Trumpet ſummoning of other Witches; who quickly after the ſound would come from all quarters unto the Randezvouz. One of them falling into a kind of Trance, afterwards affirmed, that *G. B.* had carried her into a very high Mountain, where he ſhowed her mighty and glorious Kingdoms, and ſaid he would give them all to her, if ſhe would write in his Book; but ſhe told him, They were none of his to give; and refuſed the Motions; enduring of much miſery for that refuſal.

It coſt the Court a wonderful deal of trouble to hear the Teſtimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depoſitions, they would for a long while be taken with Fits, that made them uncapable of ſaying any thing. The chief Judge asked the Priſoner, Who he thought hindred theſe Witneſſes from giving their Teſtimonies? and he anſwered, He ſuppoſed it was the Devil. That Honourable perſon then replied, How comes the Devil ſo loath to have any Teſtimony born againſt you? VVhich caſt him into very great confuſion.

3. It hath been a frequent thing for the bewitched People, to be entertained with Apparitions of Ghoſts of murdered People, at the ſame time that the Spectres of the Witches trouble them. Theſe Ghoſts do always

affright the beholders, more than all the other Spectral Representations; and when they exhibit themselves, they cry out of being murdered by the Witchcrafts, or other Violences of the persons who are then in Spectre present. It is further considerable, that once or twice these Apparitions have been seen by others, at the very same time they have shown themselves to the bewitched; and seldom have there been these Apparitions, but when something unusal and suspected hath attended the death of the Party thus appearing. Some that have been accused by these Apparitions, accosting of the bewitched People, who had never heard a word of any such persons ever being in the World, have upon a fair Examination, freely and fully confessed the Murders of those very persons, although these also did not know how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly several of the bewitched had given in their Testimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who said they were *G. B.*'s. two Wives; and that he had been the death of them; and that the Magistrates must be told of it, before whom, if *B.* upon his Tryal denied it, they did not know but that they should appear again in the Court. Now *G. B.* had been infamous, for the barbarous usage of his two successive Wives, all the Countrey over. Moreover, it was testified, the Spectre of *G. B.* threatning of the Sufferers told them he had killed (besides others) Mrs. *Lawson* and her Daughter *Ann.* And it was noted, that these were the Vertuous Wife and Daughter of one, at whom this *G. B.* might have a prejudice, for being serviceable at *Salem*-Village, from whence himself had in ill terms removed some Years before, and that when they dy'd, which was long since, there were some odd circumstances about them, which made some of the Attendants there suspect something of Witchcraft, though none imagined from what quarter it should come.

Well *G. B.* being now upon his Tryal, one of the bewitched persons was cast into horror at the Ghosts of *B*'s. two deceased Wives, then appearing before him, and crying for vengeance against him. Hereupon several of the bewitched persons were successively called in, who all, not knowing what the former had seen and said, concurred in their horror of the Apparition, which they affirmed, that he had before him. But he, though much appalled, utterly denied that he discerned any thing of it, nor was it any part of his Conviction.

4. Judicious writers have assigned it a great place, in the Conviction of Witches, when persons are Impeached by other notorious Witches to be as ill as themselves, especially if the persons have been much noted for neglecting the Worship of God. Now as there might have been Testimonies enough of *G. B*'s. Antipathy to Prayer, and the other Ordinances of God, though by his Profession singularly obliged thereunto; so there now came in against the Prisoner, the Testimonies of several persons, who confessed

confeſſed their own having been horrible Witches, and ever ſince their Confeſſions, had been themſelves terribly tortured by the Devils and other Witches, even like the other Sufferers; and therein undergone the pains of many deaths for their Confeſſions.

Theſe now teſtified, that *G. B.* had been at Witch-meetings with them; and that he was the perſon who had ſeduced and compelled them into the Snares of Witchcraft: that he promiſed them fine Cloaths for doing it; that he brought Poppets to them, and thorns to ſtick into thoſe Poppets, for the afflicting of other People: And that he exhorted them, with the reſt of the Crue, to bewitch all *Salem* Village; but be ſure to do it gradually; if they would prevail in what they did.

When the *Lancaſhire* Witches were Condemned, I don't remember that there was any conſiderable further Evidence, than that of the bewitched, and than that of ſome that had confeſſed. We ſee ſo much already againſt *G. B.* But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had already been produced credible.

5. A famous Divine, recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; the Teſtimony of the party bewitched, whether pining or dying; together with the Joint Oaths of ſufficient perſons, that have ſeen certain prodigious pranks or feats, wrought by the party accuſed. Now God had been pleaſed ſo to leave this *G. B.* that he had enſnared himſelf, by ſeveral inſtances which he had formerly given of a preternatural ſtrength; and which were now produced againſt him. He was a very puny Man, yet he had often done things beyond the ſtrength of a Giant. A Gun of about 7 Foot barrel, and ſo heavy that ſtrong Men could not ſteadily hold it out, with both hands; there were ſeveral Teſtimonies given in by perſons of Credit and Honour, that he made nothing of taking up ſuch a Gun behind the Lock with but one hand, and holding it out like a Piſtol, at Arms-end. *G. B.* In his vindication was ſo fooliſh, as to ſay, that an *Indian* was there, and held it out, at the ſame time: whereas, none of the Spectators ever ſaw any ſuch *Indian*; but they ſuppoſed the black Man (as the Witches call the Devil; and they generally ſay he reſembles an *Indian*) might give him that Aſſiſtance. There was Evidence likewiſe brought in, that he made nothing of taking up whole Barrels fill'd with Mellaſſes, or Cyder, in very diſadvantageous Poſtures, and carrying of them thro' the difficulteſt places, out of a Canoa to the Shore.

Yea, there were two Teſtimonies, that *G. B.* with only putting the Fore-finger of his right hand into the Muzzel of an heavy Gun, a fowling piece of about ſix or ſeven foot Barrel; did lift up the Gun, and hold it out at Arms-end; a Gun which the Deponents, though ſtrong men, could not with both hands lift up, and hold out at the Butt-end, as is uſual. Indeed one of theſe Witneſſes, was over-perſwaded by ſome perſons to

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be out of way upon *G. B*'s. Tryal; but he came afterwards, with sorrow for his withdraw, and gave in his Testimony. Nor were either of these Witnesses made use of as Evidence in the Tryal.

6. There came in several Testimonies, relating to the Domestick affairs of *G. B.* which had a very hard Aspect upon him; and not only proved him a very ill Man, but also confirmed the belief of the Character, which had been already fastned on him.

'Twas Testified, That keeping his two successive Wives in a strange kind of slavery, he would when he came home from abroad pretend to tell the talk which any had with them. That he has brought them to the point of Death, by his harsh dealings with his Wives, and then made the People about him to promise that in case Death should happen they would say nothing of it. That he used all means to make his VVives Write, Sign, Seal, and Swear a Covenant never to reveal any of his Secrets. That his Wives had privately complained unto the Neighbours about frightly Apparitions of Evil Spirits, with which their House was sometimes infested; and that many such things have been whispered among the Neighbourhood. There were also some other Testimonies, relating to the death of People, whereby the Consciences of an impartial Jury were convinced, that *G. B.* had bewitched the persons mention'd in the Complaints. But I am forced to omit several such passages in this as well as in all the succeeding Tryals, because the Scribes who took notice of them, have not supplied me.

7. One Mr. *Ruck*, Brother in Law to this *G. B.* testified that *G. B.* and he himself, and his Sister, who was *G. B*'s. Wife, going out for two or three Miles, to gather Strawberries, *Ruck* with his Sister, the Wife of G. B. rode home very softly, with G. B. on foot in their company, G. B. stept aside a little into the Bushes; whereupon they halted and hollow'd for him. He not answering, they went away homewards, with a quickened pace; without any expectation of seeing him in a considerable while: and yet when they were got near home, to their astonishment they found him on foot, with them, having a Basket of Strawberries. G. B. immediately then fell to chiding his Wife, on the account of what she had been speaking to her Brother of him on the Road: which when they wondered at, he said, He knew their thoughts. *Ruck* being startled at that, made some reply, intimating that the Devil himself did not know so far; but G. B. answered, my god, makes known your thoughts unto me. The Prisoner now at the Barr had nothing to answer unto what was thus witnessed against him, that was worth considering. Only he said, *Ruck* and his VVife left a man with him, when they left him. VVhich *Ruck* now affirm'd to be false; and when the Court ask'd G. B. VVhat the mans name was? His countenance was much altered; nor

could

could he say who it was. But the Court began to think that he then kept aside, only that by the Assistance of the black Man, he might put on his invisibility, and in that fascinating Mist, gratifie his own jealous humour, to hear what they said of him. Which trick of rendering themselves invisible, our Witches do in their Confessions pretend that they sometimes are masters of; and it is the more credible, because there is demonstration that they often render many other things utterly invisible.

8. Faultring, Faulty, Unconstant, and contrary Answers upon Judicial and deliberate Examination, are counted some unlucky symptoms of Guilt in all Crimes, especially in Witchcrafts. Now there never was a Prisoner more Eminent for them, than *G. B.* both at his Examination and on his Tryal. His Tergiversations, Contradictions, and Falsehoods, were very sensible: he had little to say, but that he had heard some things that he could not prove, Reflecting upon the Reputation of some of the Witnesses. Only he gave in a Paper to the Jury; wherein, altho' he had many times before granted, not only that there are Witches, but also that the present Sufferings of the Countrey are the Effects of Horrible Witchcrafts, yet he now goes to evince it, that there neither are, nor ever were, Witches, that having made a compact with the Devil, can send a Devil to torment other People at a distance. This Paper was transcribed out of *Ady*; which the Court presently knew, as soon as they heard it. But he said, he had taken none of it out of any Book; for which his evasion afterwards was, that a Gentleman gave him the Discourse in a Manuscript, from whence he transcribed it.

9. The Jury brought him in Guilty; but when he came to dye, he utterly deny'd the Fact, whereof he had been thus Convicted.

The Indictment of *Bridget Bishop.*

Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.

Essex ss. THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen present, That *Bridget Bishop*, alias *Oliver*, the Wife of *Edward Bishop* in *Salem*, in the County of *Essex*, Sawyer, the Nineteenth day of *April*, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, wickedly and Felloniously hath used, practiced, and exercised at, and within the Township of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex* aforesaid, in, upon, and against one

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Mercy Lewis, of *Salem*-Village, in the County aforesaid, single Woman by which said wicked Arts, the said *Mercy Lewis*, the said Nineteenth day of *April*, in the Fourth Year abovesaid, and divers other days and times as well before as after, was and is Hurt, Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented, against the Peace of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and against the form of the Statute, in that case made and provided.

Endorsed Billa Vera.

Witnesses, *Mercy Lewis*, *Nathaniel Ingarsoll*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Thomas Putnam*, Junior, *Mary Walcott*, Junior, *Ann Putnam*, Junior, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Abigail Williams*.

There was also a Second Indictment, on the said *Bishop*, for afflicting and practising Witchcraft on *Abigail Williams*. Witnesses to the said Indictment, were the said *Abigail Williams*, Mr. *Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarsoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Walcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*.

The Third Indictment was for afflicting *Mary Walcott*, Witnesses to which said Indictment, were *Mary Walcott*, *Mercy Lewis*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarsoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Abigail Williams*.

The Fourth Indictment was for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, Witnesses to which said Indictment, were the said *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mercy Lewis*, Mr. *Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarsoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Walcott*, *Abigail Williams*.

The Fifth Indictment was for afflicting *Ann Putnam*, Witnesses to which said Indictment, were the said *Ann Putnam*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingarsoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Abigail Williams*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*.

The Tryal of *Bridget Bishop* as Printed, *In Wonders of Invisible World*, June 2. 1692. *P.* 104, to 114.

1. *SHE was Indicted for bewitching of several persons in the Neighbourhood. The Indictment being drawn up, according to the form in such cases usual, and pleading not guilty, there were brought in several persons, who had long undergone many kinds of miseries, which were preternaturally inflicted, and generally ascribed unto an horrible Witchcraft. There was little occasion to prove the Witchcraft, it being evident and notorious to all beholders. Now to fix the Witchcraft on the Prisoner at the Bar, the first thing used was, the testimony of the bewitched; whereof several testified, that the shape of the Prisoner*

Prisoner did oftentimes very grievously pinch them, choak them, bite them, and afflict them; urging them to write their names in a Book, which the said Spectre called, Ours. One of them did further testifie, that it was the shape of this Prisoner, with another, which one day took her from her Wheel, and carrying her to the River side, threatned there to drown her, if she did not sign the Book mention'd, which yet she refused. Others of them did also testifie, that the said shape, did in her threats, brag to them, that she had been the death of sundry persons, then by her named. Another testified, the Apparition of Ghosts unto the Spectre of Bishop, *crying out,* You murdered us. *About the truth whereof, there was in the matter of Fact, but too much suspicion.*

2. *It was testified, that at the Examination of the Prisoner, before the Magistrates, the bewitched were extreamly tortured. If she did but cast her Eyes on them, they were presently struck down; and this in such a manner as there could be no colluſion in the business. But upon the touch of her hand upon them, when they lay in their swoons, they would immediately revive; and not upon the touch of any ones else. Moreover upon some special Actions of her Body, as the shaking of her head, or the turning of her Eyes, they presently and painfully fell into the like postures. And many of the like accidents now fell out, while she was at the Bar. One at the same time testifying, that she said,* She could not be troubled to see the Afflicted thus tormented.

3. *There was Testimony likewise brought in, that a Man striking once at the place, where a bewitched person said, the shape of this* Bishop *stood, the bewitched cryed out, that he had tore her Coat, in the place then particularly specified; and the Womans Coat was found to be torn in the very place.*

4. *One* Deliverance Hobbs, *who had confessed her being a Witch, was now tormented by the Spectres for her* Confession. *And she now testified that this* Bishop *tempted her to sign the Book again, and to deny what she had confess'd. She affirmed, that it was the shape of this Prisoner, which whipped her with Iron Rods, to compel her thereunto. And she affirmed, that this* Bishop *was at a General-meeting of the Witches in a Field, at* Salem-*Village, and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament, in Bread and Wine then administred.*

5. *To render it further unquestionable, that the Prisoner at the Bar, was the Person truly charged in this Witchcraft; there were produced many Evidences of other Witchcrafts, by her perpetrated. For instance,* John Cook *testified, that about five or six Years ago, one morning about Sun-Rise, he was in his Chamber, assaulted by the shape of this Prisoner: which look'd on him, grinn'd at him, and very much hurt him, with a blow on the side of the head; and that on the same day about Noon, the same shape walked in the Room where he was, and an Apple strangely flew out of his hand, into the lap of his Mother, six or eight foot from him.*

6. Samuel Gray *testify'd, that about fourteen Years ago, he wak'd on a Night, and saw the Room where he lay full of light; and that he then saw plainly a Woman between the Cradle, and the Bed-side, which looked upon him. He rose, and it vanished; tho he found the Doors all fast: Looking out at the Entry door, he saw the same Woman in the same garb again: and said,* In God's name, what do you come for? *He went to Bed, and had the same Woman again assaulting him. The Child in the Cradle gave a great Scream, and the Woman disappeared. It was long before the Child could be quieted; and tho it were a very likely thriving Child, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers Months died in a sad condition. He knew not* Bishop, *nor her name; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her countenance, and apparel, and all circumstances, that it was the Apparition of this* Bishop, *which had thus troubled him.*

7. John Bly *and his Wife, testified, that he bought a Sow of* Edward Bishop, *the Husband of the Prisoner; and was to pay the price agreed unto another person. This Prisoner being angry that she was thus hindred from fingring the Money, quarrel'd with* Bly, *soon after which the Sow was taken with strange Fitts, jumping, leaping, and knocking her head against the Fence, she seemed blind and deaf, and would neither eat nor be sucked. Whereupon a Neighbour said,* she believed the creature was over-looked; *and sundry other circumstances concurred, which made the Deponents believe that* Bishop *had bewitched it.*

8. Richard Coman *testified, that Eight Years ago, as he lay awake in his Bed, with a light burning in the Room, he was annoyed with the Apparition of this* Bishop, *and of two more that were strangers to him; who came and oppressed him, so that he could neither stir himself, nor wake any one else: and that he was the Night after molested again in the like manner; the said* Bishop *taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almost out of the Bed. His Kinsman offered for this cause to lodge with him; and that night, as they were awake discoursing together, this* Coman *was once more visited by the Guests which had formerly been so troublesome, his Kinsman being at the same time struck speechless, and unable to move hand or foot. He had laid his Sword by him; which those unhappy Spectres did strive much to wrest from him, only he held too fast for them. He then grew able to call the People of his house; but altho they heard him, yet they had not power to speak or stir, until at last, one of the People crying out,* What's the matter! *the Spectres all vanished.*

9. *Samuel Shattock* testified, that in the Year, 1680. This *Bridget Bishop,* often came to his house upon such frivolous and foolish Errands, that they suspected she came indeed with a purpose of Mischief. Presently whereupon his Eldest Child, which was of as promising health and sense, as any Child of its Age, began to droop exceedingly; and the

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oftner that *Bishop* came to the house, the worse grew the Child. As the Child would be standing at the Door, he would be thrown and bruised against the Stones, by an Invisible hand, and in like sort knock his face against the sides of the house, and bruise it after a miserable manner. Afterwards this *Bishop* would bring him things to Dye, whereof he could not Imagine any use; and when she paid him a peice of Money, the Purse and Money were unaccountably conveyed out of a lock'd Box, and never seen more. The Chlid was immediately hereupon taken with terrible Fits, whereof his friends thought he would have died: Indeed he did almost nothing but cry and sleep, for several Months together: and at length his understanding was utterly taken away. Among other Symptoms of an Inchantment upon him one was, that there was a Board in the Garden, whereon he would walk; and all the Invitations in the world could never fetch him off. About seventeen or eighteen Years after, there came a stranger, to *Shattocks* house, who seeing the Child said, *This poor Child is bewitched; and you have a Neighbour living not far off who is a Witch.* He added, *Your Neighbour has had a falling out with your Wife; and she said in her heart, your Wife is a proud Woman, and she would bring down her pride in this Child:* He then remembred, that *Bishop* had parted from his Wife in muttering, and menacing terms, a little before the Child was taken ill. The abovesaid stranger would needs carry the bewitched Boy with him, to *Bishops* House, on pretence of buying a Pot of Cyder. The Woman entertained him in furious manner; and flew also upon the Boy, scratching his face till the Blood came, and saying, *Thou Rogue, what? dost thou bring this fellow here to plague me?* Now it seems the Man had said before he went, that he would fetch Blood of her. Ever after the Boy was followed with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themselves generally ascribed unto Witchcraft; and wherein he would be thrown still into the Fire or Water, if he were not constantly looked after; and it was verily believed that *Bishop* was the cause of it.

10. *John Louder* testified, that upon some little controversie with *Bishop* about her Fowls, going well to bed, he did awake in the Night by Moonlight, and did see clearly the likeness of this Woman grievously oppressing him. In which miserable condition she held him unable to help himself, till near day. He told *Bishop* of this; but she utterly denied it, and threatned him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lord's Day, with the doors shut about him, he saw a black Pig approach him; at which he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after sitting down he saw a black thing jump in at the Window, and come and stand before him. The body was like that of a Monkey, the feet like a Cocks, but the face much like a Mans. He being so extremely affrighted, that he could not speak; this Monster spoke to him and said, *I am a Messenger*

sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this World. Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his hands upon it; but he could feel no substance, and it jumped out of the Window again; but immediately came in by the Porch, though the doors were shut, and said, *You had better take my counsel!* He then struck at it with a stick, but struck only the Groundsel, and broke the stick. The Arm with which he struck was presently disenabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the back door, and spied this *Bishop*, in her Orchard, going toward her House; but he had not power to set one foot forward unto her. Whereupon returning into the House, he was immediately accosted by the Monster he had seen before; which Goblin was now going to fly at him: whereat he cried out, *The whole Armour of God be between me and you!* so it sprang back, and flew over the Apple-tree; shaking many Apples off the Tree in its flying over. At its leap, it flung dirt with its Feet, against the Stomach of the Man; whereon he was then struck dumb, and so continued for three Days together. Upon the producing of this Testimony, *Bishop* denied that she knew this Deponent. Yet their two Orchards joined, and they had often had their little quarrels for some Years together.

11. *William Stacy* testified, that receiving Money of this *Bishop*, for work done by him, he was gone but a matter of three Roods from her, and looking for his Money, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, *Bishop* asked him whether his Father would grind her Grist for her? He demanded why? she replied, because folks count me a Witch. He answered, no question, but he will grind it for you; being then gone about six Roods from her, with a small load in his Cart, suddainly the off Wheel slumpt, and sunk down into an hole, upon plain ground, so that the Deponent, was forced to get help for the recovering of the Wheel. But stepping back to look for the hole which might give him this disaster, there was none at all to be found. Some time after he was waked in the Night; but it seemed as light as day, and he perfectly saw the shape of this *Bishop*, in the Room troubling of him, but upon her going out, all was dark again. He charg'd *Bishop* afterwards with it, and she denied it not; but was very angry. Quickly after, this Deponent having been threatned by *Bishop*, as he was in a dark Night going to the Barn, he was very suddainly taken or lifted from the ground, and thrown against a Stone-wall; after that he was again hoisted up, and thrown down a bank, at the end of his House. After this, again passing by this *Bishop*, his Horse with a small load, striving to draw, all his Gears flew to pieces, and the Cart fell down; and this Deponent going then to lift a bag of Corn, of about two Bushels, could not budge it with all his might.

Many

Many other pranks of this *Bishops*, this Deponent was ready to testifie. He also testified, that he verily believed, the said *Bishop* was the Instrument of his Daughter *Priscilla*'s death; of which suspicion, pregnant reasons were assigned.

12. To crown all, *John Bly*, and *William Bly* testified, that being imploy'd by *Bridget Bishop*, to help take down the Cellar-wall, of the old House, wherein she formerly lived, they did in holes of the said old Wall, find several Poppets made up of Rags, and Hogs Bristles, with headless Pins in them; the points being outward. Whereof she could now give no Account unto the Court, that was reasonable or tolerable.

13. One thing that made against the Prisoner was, her being evidently convicted of Gross lying in the Court, several times, while she was making her Plea. But besides this, a Jury of Women, found a preternatural Tet upon her Body; but upon a second search, within three or four hours, there was no such thing to be seen. There was also an Account of other People, whom this Woman had Afflicted. And there might have been many more, if they had been enquired for. But there was no need of them.

14. There was one very strange thing more, with which the Court was newly entertained. As this Woman was under a guard, passing by the great and spacious Meeting House of *Salem*, she gave a look towards the House; and immediately a *Dæmon* invisibly entring the Meeting House, Tore down a part of it; so that tho there were no person to be seen there, yet the People at the Noise running in, found a board which was strongly fastned with several Nails, transported unto another quarter of the House.

The Indictment of Susanna Martin.

Essex ff. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto----*

THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, present, That *Susanna Martin* of *Amesbury*, in the County of *Essex*, Widow, The second Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Feloniously hath used, practised, and exercised, at and within the Township of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex* aforesaid, in, upon, and against one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem*-Village, in the County of *Essex*, Single Woman, by which said wicked Arts the said *Mary Wolcott*, the Second Day

of

of *May*, in the fourth Year aforesaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented; as also for sundry other Acts of Witchcraft, by said *Susanna Martin*, committed and done before and since that time, against the Peace of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen, of *England*; Their Crown and Dignity, and against the Form of the Statute, in that Case made and provided.

Return'd by the Grand-Jury, *Billa Vera.*

Witnesses, *Sarah Vibber*, *Mary Wolcott*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mercy Lewis.*

The Second Indictment was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis.* Witnesses, *Samuel Parris*, *Ann Putnam*, *Sarah Vibber*, *Eliz. Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Mercy Lewis*,

The Tryal of *Susanna Martin*, *June*, 29. 1692. As is Printed, *In Wonders of Invisible World*, from *P.* 114, to *P.* 116.

1. *Susanna Martin*, pleading not Guilty, to the Indictment of Witchcrafts brought in against her; there were produced the Evidences of many persons very sensibly and grievously bewitched; who all complained of the Prisoner at the Bar, as the person whom they believed the cause of their Miseries. And now as well as in the other Trials, there was an extraordinary endeavour by Witchcrafts, with cruel and frequent Fits, to hinder the poor Sufferers, from giving in their Complaints; which the Court was forced with much patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

There was now also an Account given, of what had passed at her first Examination before the Magistrates. The cast of her Eye, then striking the Afflicted People to the Ground, whether they saw that cast or no: There were these among other Passages between the Magistrates and the Examinate.

Magistrate. Pray, What ails these People?

Martin. I don't know.

Magist. But, What do you think ails them?

Martin. I don't desire to spend my Judgment upon it.

Magist. Don't you think they are bewitched?

Martin. No, I do not think they are.

Magist. Tell us your thoughts about them then.

Martin. No, my thoughts are my own when they are in, but when they are out, they are anothers. Their Master——

Magist. Their Master; Who do you think is their Master?

Martin. If they be dealing in the black Art, you may know as well as I.

Magist.

Magist. Well, what have you done towards this?

Martin. Nothing at all.

Magist. Why, 'tis you or your appearance?

Martin. I can't help it.

Magist. Is it not your Master? How comes your appearance to hurt these?

Martin. How do I know? He that appeared in the shape of *Samuel*, a Glorified Saint may appear in any ones shape.

It was then also noted in her, as in others like her, that if the Afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the ground. And, when she was asked the reason of it, she said, I cannot tell, it may be, the Devil bears me more Malice than another-----

The Court accounted themselves Alarm'd by these things, to inquire further into the Conversation of the Prisoner; and see what there might occur, to render these Accusations further credible. Whereupon *John Allen*, of *Salisbury* testified, that he refusing, because of the weakness of his Oxen, to Cart some Staves at the request of this *Martin*, she was displeased at it, and said, *It had been as good that he had; for his Oxen should never do him much more service.* Whereupon this Deponent said, *Dost thou threaten me, thou old Witch; I'll throw thee into the Brook*: which to avoid, she flew over the Bridge and escaped. But as he was going home, one of his Oxen tired, so that he was forced to unyoke him, that he might get him home. He then put his Oxen with many more, upon *Salisbury-Beach*, where Cattle did use to get Flesh. In a few Days, all the Oxen upon the *Beach* were found by their Tracks, to have run unto the mouth of *Merrimack-River* and not returned; but the next day they were found come ashore upon *Plum-Island*. They that sought them, used all imaginable gentleness, but they would still run away with a violence, that seemed wholly Diabolical, till they came near the mouth of *Merrimack-River*; when they ran right into the Sea, swimming as far as they could be seen. One of them then swam back again, with a swiftness amazing to the beholders, who stood ready to receive him, and help up his tired Carcass: but the Beast ran furiously up into the Island, and from thence thorough the Marishes, up into *Newbury* Town, and so up into the Woods; and there after a while found near *Amesbury*. So that of Fourteen good Oxen, there was only this saved: the rest were all cast up, some in one place, and some in another, Drowned.

4. *John Atkinson* testified, that he exchanged a Cow, with a Son of *Susanna Martins*, whereat she muttered, and was unwilling he should have it. Going to receive this Cow, tho he Hamstring'd her, and halter'd her, he of a tame Creature grew so mad, that they could scarce get her along. She broke all the Ropes that were fastned unto her, and tho she was tied fast

faſt unto a Tree, yet ſhe made her eſcape, and gave them ſuch further trouble, as they could aſcribe to no cauſe but Witchcraft.

5. *Bernard Peache* teſtified, that being in Bed, on a Lords Day Night, he heard a ſcrabbling at the Window, whereat he then ſaw, *Sufanna Martin* come in, and jump down upon the floor. She took hold of this Deponents Feet, and drawing his body up into an heap, ſhe lay upon him near two hours; in all which time he could neither ſpeak nor ſtir. At length when he could begin to move, he laid hold on her hand, and pulling it up to his mouth, he bit three of her Fingers as he judged to the Bone. Whereupon ſhe went from the Chamber, down the Stairs, out at the door. This Deponent thereupon called unto the people of the Houſe to adviſe them, of what paſſed; and he himſelf did follow her. The People ſaw her not; but there being a Bucket at the Left-hand of the door, there was a drop of Blood on it; and ſeveral more drops of Blood upon the Snow, newly fallen abroad. There was likewiſe the print of her two Feet, juſt without the Threſhold; but no more ſign of any footing further off.

At another time this Deponent was deſired by the Priſoner, to come unto a husking of Corn, at her Houſe; and ſhe ſaid, *If he did not come it were better that he did!* He went not; but the night following, *Sufanna Martin*, as he judged, and another came towards him. One of them ſaid *here he is!* but he having a Quarterſtaff, made a blow at them. The Roof of the Barn, broke his blow; but following them to the Window he made another blow at them, and ſtruck them down; yet they got up and got out, and he ſaw no more of them.

About this time, there was a Rumour about the Town, that *Martin* had a broken head; but the Deponent could ſay nothing to that.

The ſaid *Peache* alſo teſtified, the bewitching of Cattle to Death, upon *Martins* diſcontents.

6. *Robert Downer* teſtified, that this Priſoner being ſome years ago proſecuted at Court for a Witch, he then ſaid unto her, *He believed ſhe was a Witch.* Whereat ſhe being diſſatisfied, ſaid, *That ſome ſhe Devil would ſhortly fetch him away*; which words were heard by others, as well as himſelf; the night following, as he lay in his Bed, there came in at the Window, the likeneſs of a Cat, which flew upon him, and took faſt hold of his Throat, lay on him a conſiderable while, and almoſt killed him; at length he remembred what *Sufanna Martin* had threatned the Day before, and with much ſtriving, he cried out, *Avoid thou ſhe Devil In the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, avoid:* Where upon it left him, leaped on the Floor, and flew out at the Window.

And there alſo came in ſeveral Teſtimonies that before ever *Downer* ſpoke a word of this Accident, *Sufanna Martin* and her Family had re lated, how this *Downer* had been handled.

7. *Joh*

7. *John Kembal* testified, that *Susanna Martin*, upon a causeless disgust had threatned him about a certain Cow of his, that she should never do him any more good, and it came to pass accordingly; for soon after the Cow was found stark dead on the dry ground, without any Distemper to be discerned upon her. Upon which he was followed with a strange death upon more of his Cattle. Whereof he lost in one Spring, to the value of 30 *l.* But the said *John Kembal*, had a further Testimony to give in against the Prisoner, which was truly admirable. Being desirous to furnish himself with a Dog, he applied himself to buy one of this *Martin*, who had a Bitch with Whelps in her House, but she not letting him have his choice; he said, *He would supply himself then at one* Blezdels Having mark'd a Puppy which he liked at *Blezdels*, he met *George Martin*, the Husband of the Prisoner going by, who asked whether he would not have one of his Wives Puppy's; and he answered, No. The same day one *Edmond Eliot*, being at *Martins* house heard *George Martin*, relate where this *Kembal* had been, and what he had said; whereupon *Susanna Martin* reply'd, *If I live I'll give him Puppies enough.* Within a few Days after this, *Kembal* coming out of the Woods, there arose a little black Cloud in the *N. W.* and *Kembal* immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the stumps of Trees that were before him, albeit he had a broad plain cart way before him; but tho he had his Axe also on his Shoulder to endanger him in his falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the Meeting-house, there appeared unto him a little thing like a Puppy of a darkish Colour, and it shot backwards and forwards between his Legs. He had the Courage to use all possible endeavours of cutting it with his Axe, but he could not hit it; the Puppy gave a jump from him and went, as to him, it seem'd into the Ground. Going a little further there appeared unto him a black Puppy, somewhat bigger than the First, but as black as a Coal. It's motions were quicker than those of his Axe. It flew at his Belly, and away at his Throat, so over his Shoulders one way, and then over his Shoulders another way, his heart now began to fail him, and he thought the Dog would have tore his Throat out. But he recovered himself, and called upon God in his distress, and naming the name of Jesus Christ it vanished away at once. The Deponent spoke not one word of these Accidents, for fear of affrighting his Wife, But the next morning, *Edmond Eliot* going into *Martins* house, this Woman asked him, where *Kembal* was? He replied, at home a Bed, for ought he knew. She returned; they say he was frighted last night. *Eliot* asked with what? She answered with Puppies. *Eliot* asked, where she heard of it, for he had heard nothing of it! She rejoined, about the Town. Altho' *Kembal* had mentioned the matter to no creature living.

8. *William Brown* testified, that Heaven having bless'd him with a most Pious and Prudent Wife, this Wife of his, one day met with *Susanna Martin*; but when she approached just unto her, *Martin* vanished out of sight, and left her extreamly affrighted. After which time the sad *Martin* often appeared unto her, giving her no little trouble; and when she did come, she was visited with Birds that sorely peck'd and prick'd her; and sometimes a bunch like a Pullets Egg would rise on her Throat, ready to choak her, till she cry'd out, *Witch, you shan't choak me!* While this good Woman was in this Extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer on her behalf; whereupon the trouble ceas'd; she saw not *Martin* as formerly; and the Church instead of their Fast, gave thanks for her deliverance. But a considerable while after, she being summoned to give in some Evidence at the Court, against this *Martin*, quickly this *Martin* came behind her, while she was Milking her Cow, and said unto her; *For thy defaming me at Court, I'll make thee the miserablest Creature in the World.* Soon after which she fell into a strange kind of Distemper, and became horribly Frantick, and uncapable of any Reasonable Action; the Physicians declaring, that her Distemper was preternatural, and that some Devil had certainly bewitched her; and in that condition she now remained.

9. *Sarah Atkinson* testified, that *Susanna Martin* came from *Amesbury* to their House at *Newbury*, in an extraordinary Season, when it was not fit for any one to Travel. She came (as she said, unto *Atkinson*) all that long way on foot. She brag'd and show'd, how dry she was; nor could it be perceived that so much as the Soles of her Shoes were wet. *Atkinson* was amazed at it, and professed, that she should her self have been wet up to the Knees, if she had then came so far; but *Martin* reply'd, *She scorned to be drabbled!* It was noted, that this Testimony upon her Tryal cast her into a very singular confusion.

10. *John Pressy* testified, that being one Evening very unaccountably bewildred near a Field of *Martins*, and several times as one under an Enchantment, returning to the place he had left, at length he saw a Marvelous light, about the bigness of an half Bushel, near two Rood out of the way. He went, and struck at it with a Stick, and laid it on with all his might. He gave it near Forty blows; and felt it a palpable substance. But going from it, his heels were struck up, and he was laid with his back on the ground: sliding as he thought, into a Pit; from whence he recovered, by taking hold on the Bush; altho afterwards he could find no such Pit in the place. Having after his recovery, gone five or six Rood he saw *Susanna Martin* standing on his Left-hand, as the Light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. He could scarce find his House in his return; but at length he got home, extreamly affrighted

frighted. The next Day it was upon enquiry understood, that *Martin* was in a miserable condition, by pains and hurts that were upon her.

It was further testified by this Deponent, that after he had given in some Evidence against *Susanna Martin* many Years ago, she gave him foul words about it, and said, *He should never prosper, more particularly, that he should never have more than two Cows; that tho he were never so likely to have more, yet he should never have them.* And that from that very day to this; namely for Twenty Years together, he could never exceed that number; but some strange thing or other still prevented his having of any more.

11. *Jarvis Ring* testified, that about Seven Years ago, he was oftentimes grievously oppressed in the Night; but saw not who troubled him, until at last he lying perfectly awake, plainly saw *Susanna Martin* approach him. She came to him and forcibly bit him by the Finger; so that the print of the bite is now so long after to be seen upon him.

12. But besides all these Evidences, there was a most wonderful Account of one *Joseph Ring* produced on this occasion. This Man has been strangely carried about by *Dæmons*. From one Witch-meeting to another, for near two Years together; and for one quarter of this time they made him and kept him Dumb, tho he is now again able to speak. There was one *T. H.* who having as 'tis judged, a design of Engaging this *Joseph Rule*, in a snare of Deviliſm, contrived a while, to bring this *Ring* two Shillings in Debt unto him. Afterwards this poor Man would be visited with unknown shapes, and this *T. H.* sometimes among them; which would force him away with them, unto unknown places, where he saw Meetings, Feastings, Dancings; and after his return wherein they hurried him along thro the Air, he gave demonstrations to the Neighbours, that he had indeed been so transported. When he was brought unto these hellish meetings, one of the first things they still did unto him, was to give him a knock on the back, whereupon he was ever as if bound with Chains, uncapable of stirring out of the place, till they should release him. He related, that there often came to him a Man, who presented him a Book, whereto he would have him set his hand; promising to him, that he should then have even what he would; and presenting him with all the delectable things, persons, and places, that he could imagine. But he refusing to subscribe, the business would end with dreadful shapes, noises and screetches, which almost scared him out of his wits. Once with a Book, there was a Pen offer'd him, and an Inkhorn, with liquor in it, that seem'd like Blood: but he never touched it.

This Man did now affirm, that he saw the Prisoner, at several of those hellish Randezvouzes.

Note, This Woman was one of the most Impudent, Scurrilous, wicked Creature in the World; and she did now throughout her whole Tryal, discover her self to be such an one. Yet when she was asked what she had to say for her self, her chief plea was, that she had led a most vertuous and holy life.

The Indictment of *Elizabeth How.*

Essex ss. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto---*

THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen present, That *Elizabeth How*, Wife of *James How*, of *Ipswich*, the Thirty first Day of *May*, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, wickedly and Felloniously hath used, practiced, and exercised at, and within the Township of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex* aforesaid, in, upon, and against one *Mary Wolcott*, of *Salem* Village, in the County aforesaid, single Woman; by which said wicked Arts, the said *Mary Wolcott*, the said Thirty first Day of *May*, in the Fourth Year as abovesaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented; and also for sundry other Acts of Witchcrafts, by said *Elizabeth How*; committed and done before and since that time, against the Peace of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and against the form of the Statute, in that case made and provided.

Witnesses, *Mary Wolcott*, *Ann Putnam*, *Abigail Williams*, *Samuel Pearly* and his Wife *Ruth*, *Joseph Andrews*, and Wife *Sarah*, *John Sherrin*, *Joseph Safford*, *Francis Lane*, *Lydia Foster*, *Isaac Cummins*, Junior.

There was also a second Indictment for afflicting of *Mercy Lewis.*

Witnesses, *Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Abigail Williams*, *Ann Putnam*, *Samuel Pearly* and Wife, *Joseph Andrews* and Wife, *John Sherrin*, *Joseph Safford*, *Francis Lane*, *Lydia Foster.*

The

The Tryal of *Elizabeth How*, *June*, 30. 1692. As is Printed, *In Wonders of the Invisible World*, from *P.* 126. to *P.* 132, inclusively.

1. *Elizabeth How*, pleading, not Guilty, to the Indictment of Witchcrafts, then charged upon her; the Court, according to the usual proceeding of the Courts in *England*; in such Cases, began with hearing the Deposition of several Afflicted People, who were grievously tormented by sensible and evident Witchcrafts, and all complained of the Prisoner, as the cause of their trouble. It was also found that the Suffers were not able to bear her look, as likewise, that in their greatest swoons, they distinguished her touch from other Peoples, being thereby raised out of them.

And there was other Testimony of People to whom the shape of this *How*, gave trouble Nine or Ten Years ago.

2. It has been a most usual thing for the bewitched persons at the same time that the Spectres representing the Witches, Troubled them to be visited with Apparitions of Ghosts, pretending to have been murdered by the Witches then represented. And sometimes the confessions of the Witches afterwards acknowledged those very Murders, which these Apparitions charged upon them; altho they had never heard what Information had been given by the Sufferers.

There were such Apparitions of Ghosts testified by some of the present Sufferers, and the Ghosts affirmed, that this *How* had murdered them: which things were fear'd, but not proved.

3. This *How* had made some attempts of Joining to the Church, at *Ipswich*, several Years ago; but she was denied an Admission into that holy Society, partly thro a suspicion of Witchcraft, then urged against her. And there now came in Testimony, of preternatural Mischiefs, presently befalling some that had been Instrumental to debar her from the Communion whereupon she was intruding.

4. There was a particular Deposition of *Joseph Safford*, that his Wife had conceived an extream Aversion, to this *How*, on the reports of her Witchcrafts; but *How*, one day taking her by the hand, and saying, *I believe you are not Ignorant of the great scandal, that I lye under, by an Evil report raised upon me.* She immediately, unreasonably, and unperswadeably, even like one Inchanted, began to take this Womans part. *How* being soon after propounded, as desiring an Admission to the Table of the Lord, some of the Pious Brethren were unsatisfied about her. The Elders appointed a meeting, to hear matters objected against her; and no arguments in the World could hinder this Goodwife *Safford*, from going to the Lecture. She did indeed promise with much ado, that she would not go to the Church-meeting; yet she could not refrain going thither also.

How's

How's affairs there were so canvased, that she came off rather Guilty, than cleared; nevertheless Goodwife *Safford* could not forbear taking her by the Hand, and saying, *Tho you are condemned before Men, you are justified before God.* She was quickly taken in a very strange manner; Frantick, Raving, Raging, and crying out, *Goody* How *must come into the Church; she is a precious Saint, and tho she be condemned before Men, she is justified before God.* So she continued for the space of two or three hours; and then fell into a Trance. But coming to her self, she cried out, *Ha! I was mistaken!* and afterwards again repeated, *Ha! I was mistaken!* being asked by a stander by, Wherein? she replied, *I thought Goody* How, *had been a precious Saint of God, but now I see is a Witch; she has bewitched me and my Child, and we shall never be well, till there be Testimony for her, that she may be taken into the Church.*

And *How* said afterwards, *That she was very sorry to see* Safford *at the Church-meeting mentioned. Safford* after this, *declared her self to be Afflicted by the Shape of* How, *and from that shape she endured many miseries.*

5. *John How*, Brother to the Husband of the Prisoner testified, that he refusing to accompany the Prisoner unto her Examination, as was by her desired, immediately some of his Cattle, were bewitched to Death, leaping Three or four Foot high, turning about, squeaking, falling, and dying at once; and going to cut off an Ear, for an use, that might as well perhaps have been omitted, the Hand wherein he held his Knife, was taken very Numb; and so it remained, and full of pain for several Days; being not well at this very time. And he suspected this Prisoner, for the Author of it.

6. *Nehemiah Abbot* testified, that unusual and mischievous accidents would befall his Cattle, whenever he had any difference with this Prisoner. Once particularly, she wished his Ox choaked, and within a little while, that Ox was choaked with a Turnip in his Throat. At another time, refusing to lend his Horse, at the request of her Daughter, the Horse was in a preternatural manner abused. And several other odd things of that kind were testified.

7. There came in Testimony, that one Goodwife *Sherwin*, upon some difference with *How* was bewitched, and, that she died, charging this *How* of having an hand in her Death. And that other People had their Barrels of Drink unaccountably mischiev'd, spoiled, and spilt upon their displeasing of her.

The things in themselves were trivial; but there being such a course of them, it made them the more to be considered. Among others, *Martha Wood* gave her testimony, that a little after, her Father had been employed in gathering an account of this *How*'s Conversation, they once and again lost great quantities of Drink, out of their Vessels, in such a manner,

manner, as they could aſcribe to nothing but Witchcraft. As alſo that *How* giving her ſome Apples, when ſhe had eaten of them, ſhe was taken with a very ſtrange kind of a maze, in ſo much that ſhe knew not what ſhe ſaid or did.

8. There was likewiſe a Cluſter of Depoſitions, that one *Iſaac Cummings*, refuſing to lend his Mare, unto the Husband of this *How*; the Mare was within a Day or two, taken in a ſtrange condition. The beaſt ſeemed much abuſed; being bruiſed, as if ſhe had been running over the Rocks, and marked where the Bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot Bridle. Moreover one uſing a Pipe of Tobacco for the cure of the Beaſt, a blew flame iſſued out of her, took hold of he hair, and not only ſpread and burnt on her, but it alſo flew upwards towards the Roof of the Barn, and had like to have ſet the Barn on fire. And the Mare dy'd very ſuddenly.

9. *Timothy Perly* and his Wife, teſtified, not only that unaccountable Miſchiefs befel their Cattle, upon their having of differences with this Priſoner; but alſo that they had a Daughter deſtroyed by Witchcrafts; which Daughter ſtill charged *How*, as the cauſe of her Affliction: and it was noted, that ſhe would be ſtruck down, whenever *How* were ſpoken of. She was often endeavoured to be thrown into the Fire, and into the Water, in her ſtrange Fitts; tho her Father had corrected, for charging *How* with bewitching her, yet (as was teſtified by others alſo) ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſure of it, and muſt dye ſtanding to it. Accordingly ſhe charged *How* to the very death; and ſaid, *Tho* How *could Afflict and Torment her Body, yet ſhe could not hurt her Soul, and that the truth of this matter would appear, when ſhe ſhould be dead and gone.*

10. *Francis Lane* teſtified, that being hired by the Husband of this *How*, to get him a parcel of Poſts and Rails, this *Lane* hired *John Pearly* to aſſiſt him. This Priſoner then told *Lane*, that ſhe believed the Poſts and Rails would not do, becauſe *John Pearly* helped him; but that if he had got them alone, without *John Pearly*'s help, they might have done well enough. When *James How* came to receive his Poſts and Rails of *Lane*, *How* taking them up by the Ends, they, tho good and ſound yet unaccountably broke off, ſo that *Lane* was forced to get Thirty or Forty more. And this Priſoner being informed of it, ſhe ſaid, *She told him ſo before*; *becauſe* Pearly *helpt about them.*

11. Afterwards there came in the Confeſſions, of ſeveral other (penitent) Witches, which affirmed this *How* to be one of thoſe, who with them had been baptized by the Devil in the River, at *Newberry-Falls*: before which he made them there kneel down by the Brink of the River, and Worſhip him.

The

The Indictment of Martha Carryer.

Essex ss. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto----*

THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, presents, That *Martha Carryer*, Wife of *Thomas Carryer* of *Andover*, in the County of *Essex*, Husbandman, The Thirty first Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Felloniously hath used, practised, and exercised, at and within the Town-ship of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex* aforesaid, in, upon, and against one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem*-Village, Single Woman, in the County of *Essex* aforesaid; by which said wicked Arts the said *Mary Wolcott*, the Thirty first Day of *May*, in the fourth Year aforesaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented; against the Peace of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen, of *England*; Their Crown and Dignity, and against the Form of the Statute, in that Case made and provided.

Witnesses, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Ann Putnam.*

There was also a Second Indictment for afflicting of *Eliz. Hubbard*, by Witchcraft. Witnesses, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Warrin.*

The Tryal of Martha Carryer, August 2. 1692. *As may be seen in* Wonders of the Invisible World, *from* P. 132, *to* 138.

1. *Martha Carryer*, was Indicted for the bewitching of certain persons, according to the form usual in such Cases: Pleading not Guilty to her Indictment; there were first brought in a considerable number of the Bewitched persons; who not only made the Court sensible of an horrid Witchcraft committed upon them, but also deposed, That it was *Martha Carryer*, or her shape, that grievously tormented them, by biting, pricking, pinching and choaking them. It was further deposed, that while this *Carryer* was on her Examination before the Magistrates, the poor People were so tortured, that every one expected their Death upon the very spot; but that upon the binding of *Carryer* they were eased.

Moreover

Moreover the looks of *Carryer* then laid the Afflicted People for dead, and her Touch, if her Eyes at the same time were off them, raised them again. Which things were also now seen upon her Tryal. And it was testified, that upon the mention of some having their Necks twisted almost round by the shape of this *Carryer*, she replied, *Its no matter, tho their Necks had been twisted quite off.*

2. Before the Tryal of this Prisoner, several of her own Children, had frankly and fully confessed not only that they were Witches themselves, but that this their Mother had made them so. This Confession they made with great shows of Repentance, and with much Demonstration of Truth. They related Place, Time, Occasion; they gave an Account of Journeys, Meetings, and Mischiefs by them performed; and were very credible in what they said. Nevertheless, this Evidence was not produced against the Prisoner at the Bar, in as much as there was other Evidence enough to proceed upon.

3. *Benj. Abbot* gave in his Testimony, That last *March* was a Twelve Month, this *Carryer* was very angry with him, upon laying out some Land near her Husbands. Her expressions in this Anger were, *That she would stick as close to* Abbot, *as the Bark stuck to the Tree; and that he should repent of it afore seven Years came to an end, so as Doctor* Prescot *should never cure him.* These words were heard by others, besides *Abbot* himself, who also heard her say, *She would hold his Nose as close to the Grindstone, as ever it was held, since his name was* Abbot. Presently after this, he was taken with a swelling in his Foot, and then with a Pain in his Side, and exceedingly tormented. It bred unto a Sore, which was lanced by Dr. *Prescot*, and several Gallons of Corruption ran out of it. For six Weeks it continued very bad; and then another Sore bred in his Groin, which was also lanced by Dr. *Prescot*. Another Sore bred in his Groin which was likewise Cut, and put him to very great misery. He was brought unto Death's door, and so remained until *Carryer* was taken, and carried away by the Constable. From which very day he began to mend, and so grew better every day, and is well ever since.

Sarah Abbot also his Wife testified, that her Husband was not only all this while Afflicted in his Body; but also that strange, extraordinary and unaccountable calamities befel his Cattle; their Death being such as they could guess at no Natural Reason for.

4. *Allin Toothaker* testified, that *Richard* the Son of *Martha Carryer*, having some difference with him, pull'd him down by the Hair of the Head, when he rose again, he was going to strike at *Richard Carryer*, but fell down flat on his back to the ground, and had not power to stir Hand or foot, until he told *Carryer* he yielded; and then he saw the shape of *Martha Carryer*, go off his Breast.

This *Toothaker* had received a wound in the Wars, and he now testified, that *Martha Carryer* told him, *He shall never be cured.* Just afore the apprehending of *Carryer*, he could thrust a Knitting-Needle into his wound four Inches deep; but presently after her being seized, he was thoroughly healed.

He further testified, that when *Carryer* and he sometimes were at variance, she would clap her Hands at him and say, *He should get nothing by it.* Whereupon he several times lost his Cattle, by strange Deaths, whereof no natural causes could be given.

5. *John Roger* also testified, that upon the threatning words of this malicious *Carryer*, his Cattle would be strangely bewitched; as was more particularly then described.

6. *Samuel Preston* testified, that about two Years ago, having some difference with *Martha Carryer*, he lost a Cow in a strange, preternatural, unusual manner; and about a Month after this, the said *Carryer*, having again some difference with him, she told him, *He had lately lost a Cow, and it should not be long before he left another!* which accordingly came to pass; for he had a thriving and well kept Cow, which without any known cause quickly fell down and died.

7. *Phebe Chandler* testificd, that about a Fortnight before the Apprehension of *Martha Carryer*, on a Lords Day, while the Psalm was singing, in the Church, this *Carryer* then took her by the Shoulder, and shaking her, asked her, *Where she lived?* she made her no Answer, altho as *Carryer*, who lived next door to her Father's House, could not in Reason but know who she was. Quickly after this, as she was at several times crossing the Fields she heard a Voice, that she took to be *Martha Carryers*, and it seem'd as if it were over her head. The Voice told her, *She should within two or three Days be Poison'd*: Accordingly within such a little time, one half of her Right Hand became greatly swollen and very painful; as also part of her Face; whereof she can give no Account how it came. It continued very bad for some days; and several times since she has had a great pain in her Breast; and been so seized on her Legs, that she has hardly been able to go. She added that lately, going well to the House of God, *Richard* the Son of *Martha Carryer*, look'd very earnestly upon her, and immediately her Hand which had formerly been Poisoned, as is abovesaid, began to pain her greatly, and she had a strange burning at her Stomach; but was then struck deaf, so that she could not hear any of the Prayer, or Singing, till the two or three last words of the Psalm.

8. One *Foster*, who confessed her own share in the Witchcraft, for which the Prisoner stood Indicted, affirmed, that she had seen the Prisoner at some of their Witch-meetings, and that it was this *Carryer*, who perswaded her to be a Witch. She confessed that the Devil carried them on

a Pole, to a Witch-meeting, but the Pole broke, and she hanging about *Carryers* Neck, they both fell down, and she then received an hurt by the fall, whereof she was not at this very time recovered.

9. One *Lacy*, who likewise confessed her share in this Witchcraft, now testified that she and the Prisoner, were once bodily present, at a Witch-meeting in *Salem*-Village, and that she knew the Prisoner to be a Witch, and to have been at a Diabolical Sacrament, and that the Prisoner was the undoing of her and her Children, by enticing them into the Snare of the Devil.

10. Another *Lacy*, who also confessed her share in this Witchcraft, now testified, that the Prisoner was at the Witch-meeting, in *Salem*-Village, where they had Bread and Wine administred unto them.

11. In the time of this Prisoners Tryal, one *Susana Shelden*, in open Court, had her Hands unaccountably tied together, with a Wheel-band, so fast, that without cutting, it could not be loosed. It was done by a Spectre; and the Sufferer affirm'd, it was the Prisoners.

Memorandum. This *Rampant Hag*, *Martha Carryer*, was the person of whom the Confessions of the Witches, and of her own Children, among the rest, agreed, that the Devil had promised her, she should be Queen of Hell.

Thus far the Account given in *Wonders of the Invisible World*; in which setting aside such words as these, in the Tryal of *G. B.* viz. [*They*, (i.e.) *the Witnesses were enough to fix the character of a Witch upon him.*

In the Tryal of *Bishop*, these words, [*but there was no need of them*] i.e. of further *Testimony.*

In the Tryal of *How*, where it is said, [and there came in Testimony of preternatural Mischiefs, presently befalling some that had been instrumental to debar her from the Communion, whereupon she was *intruding.*] *Mirtin* is call'd [one of the most impudent, scurrilous, wicked Creatures in the World.] In his Account of *Martha Carryer*, he is pleased to call her [*a Rampant Hag,*] &c.

These Expressions as they manifest, that he wrote more like an Advocate than an Historian; so also that those that were his Imployers, were not mistaken in their choice of him for that work, however he may have mist it in other things.

As in his owning (in the Tryal of *G. B.*) That the *Testimony of the bewitched, and confessors was not enough against the Accused*, for it is known, that not only in *New-England*, such Evidence has been taken for sufficient, but also in *England*, as himself there owns, and will also hold true of *Scotland*, &c. they having proceeded upon such Evidence, to the taking away of the Lives of many, to assert that this is not enough, is to tell the World, that such Executions were but so many Bloody Murders; which surely was not his intent to say.

His telling that the Court began to think that *Burroughs* stept aside to put on Invisibility, is a rendring them so mean Philosophers, and such weak Christians, as to be fit to be imposed upon by any silly pretender.

His calling the Evidence against *How* trivial, and others against *Burroughs*, he accounts no part of his Conviction; and that of lifting a Gun with one Finger, its being not made use of as Evidence, renders the whole but the more perplext. (Not to mention the many mistakes therein contain'd).

Yet all this (and more that might have been hinted at) does not hinder, but that his Account of the manner of Tryals of those for Witchcraft, is as faithfully related as any Tryals of that kind, that was ever yet made publick; and it may also be reasonably thought, that there was as careful a Scrutiny, and as unquestion'd Evidences improved, as had been formerly used in the Tryals of others, for such crimes in other places. Tho indeed a second part might be very useful, to set forth which was the Evidence Convictive in these Tryals, for it is not supposed, that Romantick or Ridiculous stories should have any influence, such as biting a Spectres Finger, so that the Blood flowed out, or such as *Shattock's* Story of 12 Years standing, which yet was presently 18 Years or more, and yet a Man of that excellent Memory, as to be able to recall a small difference his Wife had with another Woman, when Eighteen Years were past.

As it is not to be supposed, that such as these could Influence any Judge or Jury, so not unkindness to relations, or God's having given to one Man more strength than to some others, the over-setting of Carts, or the death of Cattle, nor yet Excrescencies (call'd Tets) nor little bits of Rags tied together (call'd Poppets.) Much less any persons illness, or having their Cloaths rent, when a Spectre has been well banged, much less the burning the Mares Fart, mentioned in the Tryal of *How*.

None of these being in the least capable of proving the Indictment; The supposed Criminals were Indicted for Afflicting, *&c.* such and such particular persons by Witchcraft, to which none of these Evidences have one word to say, and the Afflicted and Confessors being declared not enough, the matter needs yet further explaining.

But to proceed, the General Court having sat and enacted Laws, particularly one against Witchcraft, assigning the Penalty of Death to any that shall feed, reward, or imploy, *&c.* Evil Spirits, tho it has not yet been explained what is intended thereby, or what it is to feed, reward, or imploy Devils, *&c.* yet some of the Legislators have given this instead of an Explanation, that they had therein but Copied the Law of another Country.

January, 3. By vertue of an Act of the General Court, the first Superiour Court was held at *Salem*, for the County of *Essex*, the Judges appointed were, Mr. *William Stoughton* (the Lieutenant Governour) *Thomas Danforth*,

Danforth, *John Richards*, *Wait Winthorp*, and *Samuel Sewall*, Eſquires. Where Ignoramus was found upon the ſeveral Bills of Indictment againſt Thirty, and *Billa Vera* againſt Twenty ſix more; of all theſe Three only were found Guilty, by the Jewry upon Tryal, two of which were (as appears by their Behaviour) the moſt Senſeleſs and Ignorant Creatures that could be found; beſides which it does not appear, what came in againſt thoſe more than againſt the reſt that were acquitted.

The Third was the Wife of *Wardwell*, who was one of the Twenty Executed, and it ſeems they had both confeſſed themſelves Guilty; but he retracting his ſaid Confeſſion, was tried and Executed; it is ſuppoſed that this Woman fearing her Husbands fate, was not ſo ſtiff in her denyals of her former Confeſſion, ſuch as it was. Theſe Three received Sentence of Death.

At theſe Tryals ſome of the Jewry made Inquiry of the Court, what Account they ought to make of the Spectre Evidence? and received for Anſwer [as much as of Chips in Wort.]

January, 31. 169$\frac{2}{3}$. The Superior Court began at *Charleſtown*, for the County of *Middleſex*, Mr. *Stoughton*, Mr. *Danforth*, Mr. *Winthorp*, and Mr. *Sewall* Judges, where ſeveral had Ignoramus returned upon their Bills of Indictment, and *Billa Vera* upon others.

In the time the Court ſat, word was brought in, that a Reprieve was ſent to *Salem*, and had prevented the Execution of Seven of thoſe that were there Condemned, which ſo moved the chief Judge, that he ſaid to this effect, *We were in a way to have cleared the Land of theſe*, &c. *who it is obſtructs the courſe of Juſtice I know not*; *the Lord be merciful to the Countrey*, and ſo went off the Bench, and came no more that Court: The moſt remarkable of the Tryals, was of *Sarah Daſton*, ſhe was a Woman of about 70 or 80 Years of Age, To uſher in her Tryal, a report went before, that if there were a Witch in the World ſhe was one, as having been ſo accounted of, for 20 or 30 Years; which drew many People from *Boſton*, &c. to hear her Tryal. There were a multitude of Witneſſes produced againſt her; but what Teſtimony they gave in ſeemed wholly forreign, as of accidents, illneſs, &c. befalling them, or theirs, after ſome Quarrel; what theſe teſtified, was much of it of Actions ſaid to be done 20 Years before that time. The Spectre Evidence was not made uſe of in theſe Tryals, ſo that the Jewry ſoon brought her in not Guilty, her Daughter and Grand-daughter, and the reſt that were then tried were alſo acquitted. After ſhe was cleared Judge *Danforth* Admoniſhed her in theſe words, *Woman, Woman, repent, there are ſhrewd things come in againſt you*; ſhe was remanded to Priſon for her Fees, and there in a ſhort time expired. One of *Boſton* that had been at the Tryal of *Daſton*, being the ſame Evening in company with one of the Judges

in

in a publick place, acquainted him that some that had been both at the Tryals at *Salem*, and at this at *Charlestown*, had asserted that there was more Evidence against the said *Daston*, than against any at *Salem*, to which the said Judge conceeded, saying, *That it was so.* It was replied by that person, *that he dare give it under his hand that there was not enough come in against her to bear a just reproof.*

April, 25. 1693, The first Superiour Court was held at *Boston*, for the County of *Suffolk*; the Judges were the Lieutenant Governour, Mr. *Danforth*, Mr. *Richards* and Mr. *Sewall*, Elquires.

Where (besides the acquitting Mr. *John Aldin* by Proclamation) the most remarkable was, what related to *Mary Watkins*, who had been a Servant, and lived about Seven Miles from *Boston*, having formerly Accused her Mistress of Witchcraft, and was supposed to be distracted, she was threatned if she persisted in such Accusations to be punished, this with the necessary care to recover her Health, had that good effect, that she not only had her Health restored, but also wholly acquitted her Mistress of any such Crimes, and continued in Health till the return of the Year, and then again falling into Melancholly humours she was found strangling her self; her Life being hereby prolonged, she immediately accused her self of being a Witch; was carried before a Magistrate and committed. At this Court a Bill of Indictment was brought to the Grand Jury against her, and her confession upon her Examination given in as Evidence, but these not wholly satisfied herewith, sent for her, who gave such account of her self, that they (after they had returned into the Court to ask some Questions) Twelve of them agreed to find Ignoramus, but the Court was pleased to send them out again, who again at coming in returned it as before.

She was continued for some time in Prison, *&c.* and at length was Sold to *Virginia*. About this time the Prisoners in all the Prisons were released.

To omit here the mentioning of several Wenches in *Boston*, *&c.* who pretended to be Afflicted, and accused several, the Ministers often visiting them, and praying with them, concerning whose Affliction Narratives are in being. In Manuscript not only these, but the generality of those Accusers may have since convinc'd the Ministers by their vicious courses, that they might err in extending too much Charity to them.

The conclusion of the whole in the *Massachusetts* Colony was, Sir *William Phips* Governour being call'd home, before he went he pardon'd such as had been condemned, for which they gave about 30 Shillings each to the Kings Attorney.

In *August* 1697. The Superiour Court sat at *Hartford*, in the Colony of *Connecticut*, where one Mistress *Benom* was tried for Witchcraft, she had

had been accused by some Children that pretended to the Spectral sight; they searched her several times for Tets; they tried the Experiment of casting her into the Water, and after this she was Excommunicated by the Minister of *Wallingford.* Upon her Tryal nothing material appearing against her, save Spectre Evidence, she was acquitted; as also her Daughter, a Girl of Twelve or Thirteen Years old, who had been likewise Accused; but upon renewed Complaints against them, they both flew into *New-York* Government.

Before this the Government Issued forth the following Proclamation.

By the Honourable the Lieutenant Governour, Council and Assembly of his Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay, *in General Court Assembled.*

WHereas the Anger of God is not yet turned away, but his Hand is still stretched out against his People in manifold Judgments, particularly in drawing out to such a length the troubles of *Europe*, by a perplexing War; and more especially, respecting our selves in this Province, in that God is pleased still to go on in diminishing our Substance, cutting short our Harvest, blasting our most promising undertakings more ways than one, unsetling of us, and by his more Immediate hand, snatching away many out of our Embraces, by sudden and violent Deaths, even at this time when the Sword is devouring so many both at home and abroad, and that after many days of publick and Solemn addressing of him. And altho considering the many Sins prevailing in the midst of us, we cannot but wonder at the Patience and Mercy moderating these Rebukes; yet we cannot but also fear that there is something still wanting to accompany our Supplications. And doubtless there are some particular Sins, which God is Angry with our *Israel* for, that have not been duly seen and resented by us, about which God expects to be sought, if ever he turn again our Captivity.

Wherefore it is Commanded and Appointed, that *Thursday* the Fourteenth of *January* next, be observed as a Day of Prayer, with Fasting throughout this Province, strictly forbidding all Servile labour thereon; that so all Gods People may offer up fervent Supplications unto him, for the Preservation, and Prosperity of his Majesty's Royal Person and Government, and Success to attend his Affairs both at home and abroad; that all iniquity may be put away which hath stirred Gods Holy Jealousie against this Land; that he would shew us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiss to do so no more; and especially that whatever mistakes on either hand have been fallen into, either by the body of this People, or any orders of men, referring to the late Tragedy, raised among us by Satan and his Instruments, thro the awful Judgment of God,

he

would humble us therefore and pardon all the Errors of his Servants and People, that desire to love his Name, and be attoned to his Land; that he would remove the Rod of the wicked from off the Lot of the Righteous; that he would bring the *American* Heathen, and cause them to hear and obey his Voice.

Given at Boston, Decemb. 17. 1696, *in the 8th Year of his Majesties Reign.* Isaac Addington, *Secretary.*

Upon the Day of the Fast in the full Assembly, at the *South* Meeting-House in *Boston*, one of the Honourable Judges, who had sat in Judicature in *Salem*, delivered in a Paper, and while it was in reading stood up, But the Copy being not to be obtained at present, It can only be reported by Memory to this effect, *viz. It was to desire the Prayers of God's People for him and his, and that God having visited his Family,* &c. *he was apprehensive that he might have fallen into some Errors in the Matters at* Salem, *and pray that the Guilt of such Miscarriages may not be imputed either to the Country in general, or to him or his family in particular.*

Some that had been of several Jewries, have given forth a Paper, Sign'd with their own hands in these words.

WE whose names are underwritten, being in the Year 1692, *called to serve as Jurors, in Court at* Salem, *on Tryal of many; who were by some suspected Guilty of doing Acts of Witchcraft upon the Bodies of sundry Persons:*

We confess that we our selves were not capable to understand, nor able to withstand the mysterious deluſions of the Powers of Darkness, and Prince of the Air; but were for want of Knowledge in our selves, and better Information from others, prevailed with to take up with such Evidence against the Accused, as on further consideration, and better Information, we justly fear was insufficient for the touching the Lives of any, Deut. 17. 6. *whereby we fear we have been instrumental with others, tho Ignorantly and unwittingly, to bring upon our selves, and this People of the Lord, the Guilt of Innocent Blood; which Sin the Lord saith in Scripture, he would not pardon,* 2 Kings 24. 4. *that is we suppose in regard of his temporal Judgments. We do therefore hereby signifie to all in general (and to the surviving Sufferers in especial) our deep sense of, and sorrow for our Errors, in acting on such Evidence to the condemning of any person.*

And do hereby declare that we justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken, for which we are much disquieted and distressed in our minds; and do therefore humbly beg forgiveness, first of God for Christ's sake for this our Error; And pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to our selves, nor others;

others ; and we also pray that we may be considered candidly, and aright by the living Sufferers, as being then under the power of a strong and general Delusion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in matters of that Nature.

We do heartily ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended, and do declare according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again on such grounds for the whole World ; praying you to accept of this in way of Satisfaction for our Offence ; and that you would bless the Inheritance of the Lord, that he may be intreated for the Land.

Foreman,	Thomas Fisk,	Thomas Perly, *Senior.*
	William Fisk,	John Pebody,
	John Batcheler,	Thomas Perkins,
	Thomas Fisk, *Junior.*	Samuel Sayer,
	John Dane,	Andrew Elliott,
	Joseph Evelith,	Henry Herrick, *Senior.*

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the making the foregoing Collections of Letters, to the Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather, *and others,* &c. *(which as yet remain unanswered) a Book is come to hand Intituled,*

THE Life of Sir William Phips, *Printed in* London, 1697, Which Book, tho it bears not the Authors name, yet the Stile, manner and matter is such, that were there no other demonstration or token to know him by, it were no Witchcraft to determine that the said Mr. *C. M.* is the Author of it. But that he that has *encountred Enchantments*, and gone thro the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, and *discovered the Devil*, that he should step aside into a Remote Country to put on Invisibility! Tho the reason of this be not so manifest, yet it may be thought to be to gratifie some peculiar fancies ; and why may not this be one, that he might with the better grace extol the Actions of Mr. *Mather*, as Agent in *England*, or as President of *Harvard* College, not forgetting his own.

As to Sir *William*, it will be generally *acknowledged*, that notwithstanding the meanness of his Parentage and Education, he attain'd to be Master of a Ship, and that he had the good hap to find a *Spanish* Wreck, not only sufficient to repair his Fortunes, but to raise him to a considerable Figure ; which King *James* did so far accommodate, as to make *him a Knight.*

And that after this, in the Reign of his Present Majesty, *he took up with those of the Agents, that were for accepting the New Charter*, whereby himself became Governour.

It is not doubted, but that he aimed at the good of the People, and great Pitty it is that his Government was so sullied (for want of better Information and Advice, from those whose duty it was to have given it) by that *Hobgoblin Monster Witchcraft*, whereby this Country was Night-Mar'd, and harrast at such a rate, as is not easily imagined.

After which some complaints going to *England*, about Male Administration, in the least matters comparatively; yet were such, that he was call'd home to give account thereof, where he soon after expired, so finishing his Life and Government together.

Death having thus drawn the Curtain, forbidding any further Scene, it might have been prudence, to let his dust remain without disturbance.

But the said Book endeavouring to raise a Statue to him (*i.e.*) to ascribe to him such Achievements, as either were never performed by him, or else unduly aggravated, this has opened the Mouth, both of Friends and Enemies, to recount the mistakes in the said Book; as also those miscarriages, wherewith Sir *William* was chargeable; such as had it not been for this Book, had been buried with him.

In *P.* 3. search is made over the World, to whom to compare him in his Advancement; and most unhappily *Pizarro* is pitched upon, as a match for him, who was a *Bastard*, dropt in a *Church-Porch*, put to *Suck of a Sow*, and being grown, ran away, and Shipt himself for *America*; there so prospered, as to Command an Army; and therewith did mighty things, particularly took *Attaballipa*, one of the Kings of *Peru* Prisoner, and having received for his Ransom, in Gold and Silver to the value of Ten Millions, perfidiously put him to Death; and was the Death of no Man knows how many Thousands of Innocents, and is certainly one of the worst that could have been pitch'd upon for such comparison.

Tho this together with the Rhetorical flourishes, and affected strains therein, are instances of the Authors variety of Learning; for which he is recommended by these Three *Venerable* Person, in the entrance to the said Book. Yet the *Integrity*, *Prudence*, and *Veracity* thereof, is not so manifestly to be seen. Passing over a multitude of Misrepresentations that are therein, relating to the Acts of Sir *William*, as not designing to rake in the Grave of the Dead, Who is it can see the *Veracity* of those words? *P.* 40. [He lay within *Pistol-Shot* of the Enemies Cannon, and beat them from thence, and much batter'd the Town, having his Ship shot thro in an hundred places, with *Four and twenty Pounders*,] When in the Judgment of those present, they were not nearer to the Enemy, than about *half or three quarters of a Mile*; that there might be in all about *Seven Shot* that struck

struck the Hull of the Vessel, none of them known to be bigger than 18 Pounders, the Enemy having but one Gun that could carry so big as an 18 pound Ball.

It were a fondness, after such assertions, to take any notice of this bedeck'd Statue, when there was so much the less need of erecting one (as is asserted *P.* 108.) having already been done so well, that even this Author himself despairs of doing it better; and that by one, a Man of such diffused and Embalm'd a Reputation, as *that his Commendations* are asserted to be enough to *Immortalize* the Reputation of Sir *William*, or whomsoever else *he should* please to bestow them upon, *viz.* That Reverend person *who was* the President of the only University, then in the *English America*, *P.* 109. Which by the way, is a much fairer Statue, in honour of the President of the University, than that erected for Sir *William*.

For notwithstanding all this noise of Erecting Statues, and the great danger in plucking them down, *&c.* yet in *P.* 89. 'tis said, that even Sir *William* shewed Choler enough, leaving it open for others, thereby to understand, that he was wholly given over to Passion and Choler. And in *P.* 92. 'tis said he did not affect any mighty shew of Devotion; these expressions with others may prevail with the unbiast Reader, to think that these builders of Statues, had some further design in it, than to blazen the Achievements of Sir *William Phips*, *viz.* To set forth Mr. *J. Mathers* Negotiation in *England*, his procuring the New-Charter for Sir *William* to be Governour, and himself Establish'd President of the College, are the things principally driven at in the Book.

Another principal thing is to set forth the supposed Witchcrafts in *New-England*, and how well Mr. *Mather* the Younger therein acquitted himself.

As to the New Charter, for the right understanding that Affair, it will be needful to say, that the People that afterwards settled in *New England*, being about to leave their Native soil, and to seek (as the Providence of God should direct them) a settlement in remote Regions, wherein they might best secure their Civil and Religious Interests, before they enter'd upon this, considering it might be needful on many accounts for their future well-being, they obtain'd a Charter to be in the nature of a prime agreement, setting forth the Soveraigns Prerogative, and the Peoples Priviledges; in the enjoyment whereof they long continued, after having purchas'd the Title to their Lands, of the Natives of the Country, and settled themselves therein, without any charge to the Crown.

That Clause in their Charter for this Country, *viz.* (Provided that no other Christian Prince be prepossest of it) being a tacit acknowledgment, that before settlement no one Christian Prince had any right thereto more than another. During this time of *New-Englands* Prosperity, the Government here were very sparing of Granting Freedoms, except to such as

were so and so qualified. Whereby the number of *Non*-Freemen being much increas'd, they were very uneasie, by their being shut out from having any share in the Government, or having any Votes for their Representatives, *&c.* it rendred many of them ready to join with such as were undermining the Government, not duly considering that it had been far more safe to have endeavoured to prevail with the Legislators for an enlargement.

So that it will not be wonder'd at that in the latter end of the Reign of King *Charles* the II. and of King *James*, (when most of the Charters in *England* were vacated) that this was *quo warranto'd*, and finally Judgment entered up against it, and the Country put into such a form of Government, as was most agreeable to those times, *viz.* A Legislative pow'r was ledg'd in the Governour (or President) and some few appointed to be of his Counsel, without any regard therein, either to the Laws of *England*, or those formerly of this Colony: Thus rendring the Circumstances of this Country beyond comparison worse than those of any Corporation in *England*. The People of those Corporations being acknowledged still to have a right to *Magna Charta*, when their particular Charters were made void. But here when *Magna Charta* has been pleaded, the People have been answered, that they must not expect that *Magna Charta* would follow them to the end of the World: not only their Estates, but their Lives being thereby rendred wholly precarious. And Judge *Palmer* has set forth in Print, that the King has power to grant such a Commission over this People.

It is not hard to imagin, that under such a Commission, not only the People were liable to be oppress by Taxes, but also by Confiscations, and Siezing of Lands, unless Patents were purchased at Exceslive prizes, with many other Exorbitant Innovations.

The first that accepted this Commission was Mr. *Dudley*, a Gentleman born in this Country, who did but prepare the way for Sir *Edm. Andros*. In whose time things being grown to such Extremities, not only here, but in *England*, as render'd the succeeding Revolution absolutely necessary, the Revolution here being no other than an acting according to the Precedent given by *England*.

During the time of Sir *Edmonds*'s Government, Mr. *Increase Mather*, Teacher of the *North* Church in *Boston*; having undergone some trouble by Fobb-Actions laid upon him, *&c.* (tho with some difficulty) he made his Escape, and got passage for *England*, being therein assisted by some particular Friends; where being arrived, he applied himself to King *James* for redress of those Evils the Country then groaned under; and meeting with a seeming kind reception, and some promises, it was as much as might at that time be reasonably expected.

Upon

Upon the Day of the Revolution here, tho for the greatest part of the People were for reassuming their Ancient Government, pursuant to his Royal Highness's Proclamation; yet matters were so clog'd, that the People were dismist without it, who did not in the least mistrust, but that those, who were put out of the Government by Mr. *Dudley*, would reasume: Mr. *Broadstreet* who had been then Governour, being heard to say that Evening, when returned home, *That had not he thought they would have reassum'd, he would not have stirr'd out of his House that Day.* But after this, some that were driving at other matters, had opportunities by Threats and other ways, not only to prevail with that good Old Gentleman, but with the rest of the Government wholly to decline it; which some few observing, they took the opportunity to call themselves a Committee of Safety, and so undertook to Govern such as would be govern'd by them.

It has been an Observation of long continuance, *that matters of State seldom prosper, when managed by the Clergy.* Among the opposers of the reassuming few so strenuous as some of the Ministers, and among the Ministers none more vehement than Mr. *Cotton Mather*, Pastor of the *North*-Church in *Boston*, who has charged them as they would answer it another day not to reassume. Among his Arguments against it, one was that it would be to put a slight upon his Father, who, he said, was in *England*, labouring for a compleat Restoration of Charter Priviledges, not doubting, but they would be speedily obtain'd. Any Man that knows *New-England* cannot but be sensible, that such Discourses from such Men, have always been very prevalent. And hence it was that even those that would think themselves wronged, if they were not numbred among the best Friends to *New-England*, and to its Charter, would not so much as stoop to take it up, when there was really nothing to hinder them from the Enjoyment thereof.

After the Committee of Safety had continued about seven Weeks, or rather after Anarchy had been so long Triumphant, an Assembly having been call'd, came to this resolve, and laid it before those Gentlemen that had been of the Government, that if they would not act upon the Foundation of the Charter, that persuant to it, the Assembly would appoint some others in that Station. The Answer to which was, that they would accept, *&c.* And when a Declaration signifying such a reassuming, was prepared with the good liking of the Deputies, in order to be published, some that were opposers, so terrified those Gentlemen, that before publishing it was underwritten [that they would not have it understood that they did reassume Charter Government] to the no small amazement of the People, and disappointment of the Deputies, who if these had not promised so to act, had taken other care, and put in those that would.

The

The next principal thing done was, they chose two of their Members, *viz.* One of the upper House, the other of the lower, both of them Gentlemen of known Integrity, as well as ability, to go to *England*, in order to obtain their Resettlement; And in regard Mr. *I. Mather* was already there, they joined him, as also a certain Gentlemen in *London* with these other two: Those from hence being arrived in *London*, they all united for the common Interest of the Countrey, tho without the desired effect. They were in doubt, whether it were best to Improve their Utmost for a reversal of the Judgment in a Course of Law, or to obtain it in a Parliamentary way, or to Petition his Majesty for a New Grant of former Priviledges; And considering that the two first might prove Dilatory and Expensive, as well as for other reasons, they resolved upon the latter, and Petition'd his Majesty for the Countries Resettlement, with former Priviledges, and what further additionals his Majesty in his Princely Wisdom should think fit. Accordingly it pleased his Majesty to declare in Counsel his Determination. *viz.* That there should be a Charter granted to *New-England*. But the Minutes then taken thereof, and a Draught of the New-Charter being seen, it was the Opinion of the two Gentlemen sent from hence, that it were best to tarry his Majesties return from *Flanders*; in hopes then to obtain ease in such things, as might be any ways deemed to be grievous. And this was the result of the Advice of such as were best able to give it, that they could meet with, and accordingly they wholly desisted taking it out of the Offices.

But Mr. *Mather*, and that other Gentleman had, as it is said, other advice given them, which they strenuously pursued, and his Majesty having left it as is asserted in this of the Life of Sir *William*, *P.* 57, to them to nominate a Governour, they pitcht upon Sir *William Phips*, who was then in *England*. [As the most likely and able to serve the King's Interests among the People there; under the changes in some things unacceptable now brought upon them, *P.* 62.] and without tarrying for the concurrence of those other Agents, the Charter was taken out, *&c.*

But Mr. *Mather* perhaps fearing he should have but small thanks here, for his having so far an hand in bringing upon them those unacceptable Changes, wrote, and caused to be Printed, an Account of his Negotiation, but surely by some Error in the Conception, it proved only an *Embrio*, and was stifled as soon as born. One indeed, designed to be as it were a *Posthumus* was left with Mr. *Bailey*, formerly of *Boston*, and a Member of the *North*-Church, with a charge not to suffer it to be seen, till he were gone to *New-England*; yet it seems some other person got a sight of it, which was the occasion of Mr. *Mather*'s sending him that Minatory Epistle, by some call'd a Bull. But besides this, for fear of the worst, Mr. *M.* got several *Non-con* Ministers to give him a Testimonial, or Letters of Commendations for his great Service herein.

In

In the mean time Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being in some doubt of the same thing, handed about a Paper of Fables; wherein his Father under the Name of *Mercurius*, and himself under the Name of *Orpheus*, are extoll'd and the great Actions of *Mercurius* magnified; the present Charter exalted, by trampling on the former, as being very defective, and all those call'd unreasonable that did not readily agree with the New one: And indeed the whole Country are compared to no better than Beasts, except *Mercurius* and *Orpheus*, the Governour himself must not Escape being termed an Elephant, tho as good as he was great, and the Inferiours told by *Orpheus* that the quiet Enjoyment of their Lands, &c. they were beholding to *Mercurius* for. Tho this Paper was judged not convenient to be Printed, yet some Copies were taken, the Author having shown variety of *Heathen* Learning in it.

This is in short that eminent Service for which the said Mr. *I. M.* is in the present Book so highly extol'd. In so many Pages, that to repeat them were to transcribe a considerable part of the said Book.

And no doubt he deserves as much thanks as Dr. *Sharp* did, when he was sent by the Presbytery of *Scotland*, to procure the settlement of their Kirk by King *Charles* II. at his Restauration.

Not but that the present Charter of *New-England*, is indeed truly valuable, as containing in it peculiar Priviledges, which abundantly Engages this People to pay the tribute of thankfulness to his Majesty, and all due subjection to whom it shall please him to substitute as Governour over us; and to pray that the King of Kings would pour out of his richest blessings upon him, giving him a long and prosperous Reign over the Nations, under the benign Influences whereof, Oppression and Tyranny may flee away.

And if his Majesty hath put this People into the present form of Government, to the end they might be in the better condition of Defence in a time of War; or that they might the better understand the Priviledge of chooſing their own Governour by the want of it, and should be graciously pleased (the War being over) to restore to these, as has been already granted to the rest of his Majesties Subjects, the full enjoyment of their Ancient Priviledges, it would be such an obligation upon them to thankfulness and Duty, as could never be forgotten, nor sufficiently expresst, and would rather abate than increase charge to the Crown.

As to the supposed Witchcrafts in *New-England*, having already said so much thereof, there is the less remains to be added.

In the times of Sir *Ed. Andros* his Government, Goody *Glover*, a despised, crazy, ill-conditioned old Woman, an *Irish Roman* Catholick, was tried for Afflicting *Goodwins* Children; by the Account of which Tryal, taken in Short-hand, for the use of the Jury, it may appear that the generality

nerality of her Answers, were Nonsense, and her behaviour like that of one distracted. Yet the Drs. finding her as she had been for many Years, brought her in *Compos Mentis*; and setting aside her crazy Answers to some insnaring questions, the proof against her was wholly deficient: The Jury brought her Guilty.

Mr. *Cotton Mather*, was the most active and forward of any Minister in the Country in those matters, taking home one of the Children, and managing such Intreagues with that Child, and after printing such an Account of the whole, in his Memorable Providences, as conduced much to the kindling those Flames, that in Sir *Williams* time threatned the devouring this Country.

King *Saul* in his destroying the Witches out of *Israel*, is thought by many to have exceeded, and in his Zeal to have slain the *Gibeonites* wrongfully under that notion: Yet went after this to a Witch to know his Fortune. For his wrongful destroying the *Gibeonites*(besides the Judgments of God upon the Land) his Sons were hanged; and for his going to the Witch, himself was cut off. Our Sir *William Phips* did not do this, but as appears by this Book, had first his Fortune told him (by such as the Author counts no better) and tho he put it off (to his Pastor, who he knew approved not thereof) as if it were brought to him in writing, without his seeking, *&c.* Yet by his bringing it so far, and safe keeping it so many Years, it appears he made some Account of it; for which he gave the Writer, after he had found the Wreck, as a reward, more than Two hundred Pounds. His telling his Wife (*P.* 6.) that he should be a Commander; should have a Brick-House in *Green Lane*, *&c.* might be in confidence of some such Prediction, and that he could foretel to him (*P.* 90.) that he should be Governour of *New-England*, was probably such an one (the Scriptures not having revealed it) Such Predictions would have been counted at *Salem*, pregnant proofs of Witchcraft, and much better than what were against several that suffered there. But Sir *William*, when the Witchcrafts at *Salem* began (in his Esteem) to look formidable, that he might Act safely in this Affair, he asked the Advice of the Ministers in and near *Boston*; the whole of their Advice and Answer is Printed in *Cases of Conscience* the last Pages. But lest the World should be Ignorant who it was that drew the said Advice, in this Book of the Life of Sir *William Phips*, *P.* 77. are these words, *the Ministers made unto his Excellency and the Counsel a return, drawn up at their desire, by Mr.* Mather *the Younger, as I have been informed.* Mr. *C. M.* therein intending to beguile the World, and make them think that another, and not himself had taken that notice of his (supposed) good Service done therein, which otherwise would have been ascribed to those Ministers in General, tho indeed the Advice then given, looks most like a thing of his Composing, as carrying both Fire

to

to increase, and Water to quench the Conflagration. Particularly after the Devils Testimony, by the supposed Afflicted had so prevailed, as to take away the Life of one, and the Liberty of an Hundred, and the whole Country set into a most dreadful consternation, then this Advice is given, ushered in with thanks for what was already done, and in conclusion, putting the Government upon a speedy and vigorous prosecution according to the Laws of God, and the wholsome Statutes of the *English* Nation, so adding Oyl rather than Water to the Flame; for who so little acquainted with proceedings of *England*, as not to know that they have taken some methods, with those here used to discover who were Witches. The rest of the Advice consisting of cautions and directions, are inserted in this of the Life of Sir *William*. So that if Sir *William*, looking upon the thanks for what was past, and Exhortation to proceed, went on to take away the Lives of Nineteen more, this is according to the Advice said to be given him by the Ministers, and if the Devil after those Executions be affronted, by disbelieving his testimony, and by clearing and Pardoning all the rest of the Accused; yet this also is according to that Advice, but to cast the Scale; the same that drew this Advice, saith, in *Wonders of the Invisible World, Enchantments Encountred*; [that to have a hand in any thing that may stifle or obstruct a regular direction of that Witchcraft, is what we may well with a Holy fear avoid: Their Majesties good Subjects must not every day be torn to pieces by horrid Witchcraft, and those bloody Felons be wholly left unprosecuted. The Witchcraft is a business that will not be shamm'd] The Pastor of that Church, of which Sir *William* was a Member, being of this Principle, and thus declaring it, after the former advice; no wonder tho it cast the Scale against those Cautions. It is rather a Wonder that no more Blood was shed, for if that Advice of his Pastors could still have prevail'd with the Governour, Witchcraft had not been so shammed off as it was. Yet now in this Book of the Life of Sir *William*, the *pardoning* the Prisoners when Condemn'd, and clearing the Goals, is call'd *(P. 82.)* a Vanquishing the Devil, adding this Conquest to the rest of the Noble Archievements of Sir *William*, tho Performed not only without, but directly against his Pastors Advice. But this is not all, tho this Book pretends to raise a Statue in Honour of Sir *William*, yet it apears it was the least part of the design of the Author to Honour him, but it was rather to Honour himself, and the Ministers; It being so unjust to Sir *William*, as to give a full Account of the cautions given him, but designedly hiding from the Reader the Incouragements and Exhortations to proceed, that were laid before him (under the name of the Ministers Advice) in effect, telling the World that those Executions at *Salem*, were without, and against the Advice of the Ministers, expreſt in those Cautions, purposely hiding their giving thanks for what was already done, and exhorting to proceed; thereby rendring *Sir William* of so sanguin a Complexion, that the Ministers had such cause to fear his going on with the Tragedy, tho against their Advice; that they desired the President to write his *Cases of Conscience, &c.* To plead misinformation will not salve here, however it may seem to pallitate other things, but is a manifest, designed traversty, or misrepresentation of the Ministers Advice to *Sir William*, a hiding the truth, and a wronging the dead, whom the Author so much pretends to honour; for which the Acknowledgments ought to be as Universal as the Offence. But tho the Ministers Advice, or rather Mr. *Mathers* was perfectly *Ambidexter*, giving as great or greater Encouragement to proceed in those dark methods, then cautions against

them; yet many Eminent persons being accused, there was a necessity of a stop to be put to it. If it be true what was said at the Counsel-board, in answer to the commendations of Sir *William*, for his stopping the proceedings about Witchcraft, *viz.* That it was high time for him to stop it, his own Lady being accused; if that Assertion were a truth, then *New-England* may seem to be more beholden to the accusers for accusing of her, and thereby necessitating a stop, than to Sir *William*, or to the Advice that was given him by his Pastor.

Mr. *C. M.* having been very forward to write Books of Witchcraft, has not been so forward either to explain or defend the Doctrinal part thereof, and his belief (which he had a Years time to Compose) he durst not venture so as to be copied. Yet in this of the Life of Sir *William*, he sufficiently testifies his retaining that Hererodox belief, seeking by frightfull stories of the sufferings of some, and the refined sight of others, *&c.* P. 69 to obtrude upon the World, and confirm it in such a belief, as hitherto he either cannot or will not defend, as if the Blood already shed thereby were not sufficient.

Mr. *I. Mather*, in his *Cases of Conscience* P. 25. tells of a Bewitched Eye, and that such can see more than others. They were certainly bewitched Eyes that could see as well shut as open, and that could see what never was, that could see the Prisoners upon the Afflicted, harming of them, when those whose Eyes were not bewitched could have sworn that they did not stir from the Bar. The Accusers are said to have suffered much by biting, P. 73. And the prints of just such a set of Teeth, as those they Accused, had, but such as had not such bewitch'd Eyes have seen the Accusers bite themselves, and then complain of the Accused. It has also been seen when the Accused, instead of having just such a set of Teeth, has not had one in his head. They were such bewitched Eyes that could see the Poisonous Powder (brought by Spectres *P.* 70.) And that could see in the Ashes the print of the Brand, there invisibly heate to torment the pretended Sufferers with, *&c.*

These with the rest of such Legends have this direct tendency, *viz.* To tell the World that the Devil is more ready to serve his Votaries, by his doing for them things above or against the course of Nature, shewing himself to them, and making explicit contract with them, *&c.* than the Divine Being is to his faithful Servants, and that as he is willing, so also able to perform their desires. The way whereby these People are believed to arrive at a power to Afflict their Neighbours, is by a compact with the Devil, and that they have a power to *Commissionate* him to those Evils, *P.* 72. However Irrational, or Inscriptural such Assertions are, yet they seem a necessary part of the *Faith* of such as maintain the belief of such a sort of *Witches*.

As the Scriptures know nothing of a covenanting, or commissioning Witch, so Reason cannot conceive how Mortals should by their Wickedness arrive at a power to Commissionate Angels, Fallen Angels, against their Innocent Neighbours. But the Scriptures are full in it, and the Instances numerous, that the Almighty, Divine Being has this prerogative to make use of what Instrument he pleaseth, in Afflicting any, and consequently to commissionate Devils: And tho this word commissioning, in the Authors former Books, might be thought to be by inadvertency yet now after he hath been caution'd of it, still to persist in it seems highly Criminal. And therefore in the name of God, I here charge such belief as guilty of Sacrilege in the highest Nature, and so much worse than stealing Church Plate, *&c.* As it is a higher Offence to steal any of the glorious Attributes of the Almighty,

mighty, to bestow them upon Mortals, than it is to steal the Utensils appropriated to his Service. And whether to ascribe such power of commissioning Devils to the worst of Men, be not direct Blasphemy, I leave to others better able to determine. When the *Pharisees* were so wicked as to ascribe to *Beelzebub*, the mighty works of Christ (whereby he did manifestly shew forth his Power and Godhead) then it was that our Saviour declar'd the Sin against the Holy Ghost to be unpardonable.

When the Righteous God is contending with Apostate Sinners, for their departures from him, by his Judgments, as Plagues, Earthquakes, Storms and Tempests, Sicknesses and Diseases, Wars, loss of Cattle, *&c.* Then not only to ascribe this to the Devil, but to charge one another with sending or commissionating those Devils to these things, is so abominable and so wicked, that it requires a better Judgment than mine to give it its just denomination.

But that Christians so called should not only charge their fellow Christians therewith, but proceed to Tryals and Executions; crediting that Enemy to all Goodness, and Accuser of the Brethren, rather than believe their Neighbours in their own Defence; This is so Diabolical a Wickedness as cannot proceed, but from a Doctrine of Devils; how far damnable it is let others discuss. Tho such things were acting in this Country in Sir *Williams* time, yet *p.* 65. There is a Discourse of a Guardian Angel, as then over-seeing it, which notion however it may suit the Faith of *Ethnicks*, or the fancies of *Trithemius*; it is certain that the Omnipresent Being, stands not in need as Earthly Potentates do, of governing the World by Vicegerents. And if Sir *William* had such an Invisible pattern to imitate, no wonder tho some of his Actions were unaccountable, especially those relating to Witchcraft: For if there was in those Actions an Angel super-intending, there is little reason to think it was *Gabriel* or the Spirit of *Mercury*, nor *Hamuel* the Angel or Spirit of *Venus*, nor yet *Samuel* the Angel or Spirit of *Mars*; Names feigned by the said *Trithemius*, *&c.* It may rather be thought to be *Apollyon*, or *Abaddon*.

Obj. But here it will be said, What are there no Witches? Do's not the Law of God command that they should be extirpated? Is the Command vain and Unintelligible? *Sol.* For any to say, that a Witch is one that makes a compact with, and Commissions Devils, *&c.* is indeed to render the Law of God vain and Unintelligible, as having provided no way whereby they might be detected, and proved to be such; And how the *Jews* waded thro this difficulty for so many Ages, without the Supplement of Mr. *Perkins* and *Bernard* thereto, would be very mysterious. But to him that can read the Scriptures without prejudice from Education, *&c.* it will manifestly appear, that the Scripture is full and Intelligible, both as to the Crime and means to detect the culpable. He that shall hereafter see any person, who to confirm People in a false belief, about the power of Witches and Devils, pretending to a sign to confirm it; such as knocking off of invisible Chains with the hand, driving away Devils by brishing, striking with a Sword or Stick, to wound a person at a great distance, *&c.* may (according to that head of Mr. *Gauls*, quoted by Mr. C. *M.* and so often herein before recited, and so well proved by Scripture) conclude that he has *seen Witchcraft performed.*

If

If *Baalam* became a Sorcerer by Sacrifizing and Praying to the true God against his visible people; Then he that shall pray that the afflicted (by their *Spectral* Sight) may accuse some other Person (whereby their reputations and lives may be indangered) such will justly deserve the Name of a *Sorcerer*. If any Person pretends to know more then can be known by humane means, and professeth at the same time that they have it from the *Black-Man, i. e. the Devil*, and shall from hence give Testimony against the Lives of others, they are manifestly such as have a familiar Spirit; and if any, knowing them to have their Information from the *Black-Man*, shall beinquisitive of them for their Testimony against others, they therein are dealing with such as have a *Familiar-Spirit*.

And if these shall pretend *to see the dead* by their *Spectral Sight*, and others shall be inquisitive of them, and receive their Answers what it is the *dead say*, and who it is they accuse, both the one and the other are by Scripture *Guilty of Necromancy*.

These are all of them crimes as easily proved as any what soever, and that by such proof as the Law of God requires, so that it is *no Unintelligible Law*.

But if the Iniquity of the times be such, that these Criminals not only Escape Indemnified, but are Incouraged in their Wickedness, and made use of to take away the Lives of others, this is worse than a making the Law of God *Vain*, it being a rendring of it *dangerous*, against the Lives of Innocents, and without all hopes of better, so long as these Bloody Principles remain.

As long as Christians do Esteem the *Law of God to be Imperfect*, as not describing that crime that it requires to be Punish'd by Death.

As long as men suffer themselves to be Poison'd in their Education, and be grounded in a *False Belief by the Books of the Heathen*.

As long as the *Devil* shall be believed to have *a Natural Power, to Act above and against a course of Nature*.

As long as the *Witches* shall be believed to have a Power to *Commission him*.

As long as the *Devils Testimony* by the pretended afflicted, shall be received as *more valid to Condemn*, than their Plea of *Not Guilty* to acquit.

As long as the *Accused* shall have their *Lives and Liberties* confirmed and restored to them, *upon their Confessing themselves Guilty*.

As long as the *Accused* shall be forc't to *undergo Hardships and Torments* for their not Confessing.

As long as *Tets* for the *Devil to Suck* are searched for upon the Bodies of the accused, as a token of guilt.

As long as the *Lords Prayer* shall be profaned, by being made a Test, who are culpable.

As long as *Witchcraft, Sorcery, Familiar Spirits, and Necromancy*, shall be improved to discover who are *Witches*, &c.

So long it may be expected that Innocents will suffer as Witches.

So long God will be Daily dishonoured, And so long his Judgments, must be expected to be continued.

FINIS.

Joseph Case[illegible]
of Boston,

ERRATA.

THE Pages from 48 to 57 may be Corrected with Pen, as also in the Preface 7 lines from the end, in of *we* read *me*. p. 3 l. 17 f. furiously r. seriously p. 13 f. fruitful r. faithful. p. 16. l. 3. from the bottom f. me p. 18 l. 6 f drawing r. chaining. p. 28 l. 13 the wor to be left out. p. 49 l. 12 r. *the ancients did worship.* l. 9 r. the more nearly. p. 55 l. 14 f. unaccountable comfortable. p. 61 l. 26. after the word *propose* r.

1. *That if your selves please to take the trouble with once more to hear the Case and give full liberty of proving*

the word *place.*

P. 63 l. 3 f. proved r. procured. p. 65 l. 25 f. dear r. p. 85 l. 20 r. best learn. p 93. l 12 f. sucking r. such p. 94 l. 22 r. *Mercy Lewis.* p. 98 l. 16 r. *Nathaniel Ca.* p. 106 l. 31. r. up the Hill. p. 143 l. 8. f. flew r. fle p. 152. l. 26. f. that he r. he that.